BARBADOS

1880-1914

A SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the relationship between society and culture in the British colony of Barbados in the period 1880-1914. Barbados then was a typical 'plantation society' characterised by sugar monoculture in which the black majority were dominated by a white minority planter-merchant class. The constitutional crisis of 1876 was a watershed in Barbados colonial politics for it exposed ruling-class deficiency in moral authority. Moreover, the growing problems in the sugar economy occasioned by a change in imperial trade policy and increasing competition from European beet sugar resulted in a depression which created conditions ripe for social change.

This thesis, through an engagement with the Gramscian concept of 'hegemony', postulates that in recognition of its vulnerability the white ruling class proceeded to strengthen itself through a range of alliances and compromises, not exclusively of an economic class nature, but which were also political and cultural. These took the form of cross-class alliances intended to reinforce 'whiteness' as the visible index of power and achievement. The promotion of an Anglocentric model of education allied to European Christianity nurtured the 'white bias' and imperialism which also found enthusiastic support also among the non-white middle class. Education and European interpretations of Christianity were less 'successful' among the black majority. Besides formal education, attempts were made to imbue day-to-day forms of recreation with English codes of significance while denigrating persistent Afro-Creole cultural expressions.

Black working-class men and women held a fondness for empire grounded in their perception of a benevolent Mother Country. Nevertheless, while accommodating and syncretising their traditional culture with English forms, working-class blacks preserved the relative autonomy and integrity of their culture against attempts to 'rationalize' it. The hegemonic agenda of the white ruling class was never consistent or coherent. At the community level blacks demonstrated their capacity to organize themselves and throw off white paternalism. Nevertheless, irrespective of how weak white ruling class hegemony may have been, it was fully backed by the coercive power of the imperial and colonial state.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOF	Ancient Order of Foresters
AQC	*Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* (Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076.)
BBSA	Barbados Boy Scouts Association
BCA	*Barbados Cricketer's Annual*
BCP	Bishop's Court Papers: Church Council and Diocesan Synod Minutes
BDA	Barbados Department of Archives
BDED	Board of Education Minutes
BPL	Barbados Public Library
BSA	Boy Scouts of America Papers
CO	Colonial Office
CSM	*Combermere School Magazine*
DHA	*Debates of the House of Assembly*
DLC	*Debates of the Legislative Council*
GLSRB	*Grand Lodge of Scotland Registration Book*
GUOOF	Grand United Order of Oddfellows
HC	Harrison College Board of Governors' Minutes
IOOF (MU)	Independent Order of Oddfellows (Manchester Unity)
LSR	*Lodge School Record*
MCA	*Minutes of Council and Assembly*
OG	*Official Gazette*
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	Public Record Office
PGLS	*Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Scotland*
PUGLE	*Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England*
QC	Queen's College Board of Governors' Minutes
SAA	Scout Association Archives
UGLE	United Grand Lodge of England Papers
WIRC	West India Royal Commission, 1897
WMMS	Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society Papers

INTRODUCTION

This is a study which focuses on the cultural construction and mediation of social power in Barbadian society between 1880 and 1914. Universally-accepted definitions of 'society' and 'culture' as well as the theorizing of the relationship between these two concepts, remain as contentious as ever.[1] For the purpose of this research 'culture' is taken to refer *both* to the meanings, symbols, rituals and myths negotiated by voluntary action,[2] *and* the institutions which process, delimit and systematize them. Culture and society should not be conflated but as Alexander has argued: 'We cannot understand culture without reference to subjective meaning, and we cannot understand it without reference to social structural constraints.'[3]

Barbados in many respects was a society with deep social cleavages. The social power and prestige of a minority white elite contrasted sharply with the majority of impoverished and exploited blacks. In between was an expanding middle stratum of less privileged whites, blacks and coloureds who were also subservient to white ruling class power. The cultural divisions virtually paralleled those of society. On the one hand the elite whites were the self-styled repositories of an Anglo-centric Victorian culture on the other hand the black majority adhered to Afro-Creole cultural forms which continued to be labelled as 'heathenish' and backward by the elites as well as the middle classes.

The period chosen for study is significant because it follows the constitutional crisis of 1876 when the Imperial Government attempted a more direct intervention in local political affairs construed to be an attempt to introduce Crown Colony government. Crowds of black working-class people marched against the plantocracy invoking the name of the Governor, John Pope-Hennessy and showing their approval for imperial intervention. The local oligarchy resisted fundamental constitutional change but were nevertheless forced to make compromises. Moreover, Britain's abandonment of colonial protectionist policies threatened the viability of the sugar industry which was the very life blood of the economy and the socio-economic base of power and privilege. Against this background of political challenge, and in the context of depressed economic conditions, the white ruling class attempted to regain its hegemony and legitimacy.

This study commences with a critical exploration and overview of previous conceptual models applied to the post-emancipation British West Indian societies. The

purpose of this exercise is not to set the stage to announce the 'latest' theory which will once-and-for-all 'explain' these societies. Rather, it is concerned more modestly with re-examining some of the questions raised in the past and to see to what extent an empirical historical study of this nature may contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between society and culture in the post-emancipation British Caribbean from the late nineteenth century.

Barbados could with justification be characterised as a 'plantation society' during the period under study. Colonial officials and planters argued that without the plantation enterprise civilization would cease in the island. White ruling-class hegemony depended on the survival of this enterprise and an array of ideological forces were deployed by the planter class to keep sugar 'king' and their dominance intact. The oppressed and exploited working classes did not simply acquiesce to the coercive labour systems and starvation wages. The study therefore concerns itself with examining the limited forms of working-class protests against economic injustice and the conditions which limited their impact. The exploitative social system could not be maintained by a minority elite without other social alliances. The nature of these alliances as well as the concessions made to secure them is an important element of this study.

New social legislation was enacted which was intended to demonstrate the social responsibility of the ruling class, which, during the Confederation impasse was seriously questioned. Thus Acts were passed extending poor relief, the regulation of friendly societies, the extension of the facilities of savings banking facilities and the implementation of a 'liberal' system of education. The 1878 Education Act was seen as possibly the most significant social legislation of the late nineteenth century. This study explores the varying responses to these forms of social legislation and will assess the extent to which ruling-class hegemonic value systems were reproduced or subverted through thrift and educational institutions.

Claude Levy's narrative on post-emancipation Barbados terminates just after the political crisis of Confederation in 1876, when the competition from beet sugar signalled Barbados' economic decline and the island 'faded into the empire's backwater'.[4] This may indeed have been so in economic terms, or from the perspective of the imperial State. However, the glitter of empire shone even brighter in Barbados in the late nineteenth century. British cultural imperialism provided a key to ruling-class hegemony in Barbados in this period. Colonial hegemony Brathwaite observed perceptively was maintained by

the 'remote control' of the metropole.[5] The educated middle classes played a pivotal role here. British cultural institutions and standards were embraced with undiluted enthusiasm. British-based cultural institutions such as the secret fraternities espoused a non-racial and latitudianarian philosophy which served the purpose of cementing the imperial bonds. Cricket, like fraternities, provided a ritualistic context for the dramatising of conciliation, unity and fair play both in the colonial and the British imperial context.

This study, as has been noted, takes up where Claude Levy's work ended. However, unlike the social and economic genre of historical writing which has characterised much of post-emancipation Caribbean historiography, this current work focuses on society and culture. To date, there has not been an attempt to explore Barbadian society in the 'modern' period commencing in the late nineteenth century. However, Bonham Richardson's *Panama Money in Barbados* although principally an analysis of the social impact of emigration on the lives of blacks, is nonetheless a fascinating social history of Barbados from the turn of the century to 1920. His analyses of many of the socio-cultural and economic institutions of Barbadians in this period are however exploratory. This thesis aims to fill a lacuna in Barbadian historiography and offers yet another perspective on the post-emancipation Caribbean.

1. For just a few discussions on this debate, see, Hans Haferkamp (ed.), *Social Structure and Culture* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989); Jeffrey C. Alexander, 'Analytic Debates: Understanding the Relative Autonomy of Culture,' in *Idem* and Steven Seidman, eds., *Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 1-27; Rosamund Billington, Strawbridge, Greensides and Fitzsimons, *Culture and Society: A Sociology of Culture* (Basingstkoke: Macmillan, 1991).

2. The interpretative approach of symbolic anthropologists, especially Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). For a critical assessment, see Aletta Biersack, 'Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond' in Lynn Hunt, (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 72-96.

3. Alexander, 'Analytic Debates,' 26.

4. Claude Levy's *Emancipation, Sugar and Federalism: Barbados and the West Indies, 1833-1876*, 159.

5. Edward Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean*, Monograph 1, (Mona, Kingston: Savacou Publications, 1974), 62.

CHAPTER 1

THEORIZING POST-EMANCIPATION CARIBBEAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Almost two decades ago Woodville Marshall having surveyed the British Caribbean historiography, suggested that Caribbean historians needed to employ the insights from other academics such as social scientists, linguists and musicologists.[1] Higman who has reiterated a similar challenge has also suggested a more explicit use of theory.[2] Significantly, while calls were being made for 'new' historical approaches with the application of theory, Susan Craig had surveyed the state of social theory in the region and concluded that it had reached its 'plateau' by the end of the 1960s.[3] Higman's challenge was almost a complement to what Craig suggested a few years before. She suggested the need for more concrete social histories of post-emancipation Caribbean societies that are 'multi-disciplinary, holistic, written with a simultaneous macro- and micro-perspective -'.[4] Perhaps the apparent faltering in Caribbean theorizing may very well have been part of an international crisis in social science discourse which witnessed the confidence in scientific progress and modernization give way to cynicism and the rejection of conceptual certainty.[5] The suggestion for simultaneous macro and micro-perspectives underscores both the failure of grand theories emphasising 'society' and 'structure' as well as the weaknesses inherent in exclusively atomistic approaches focusing on 'action' and 'meaning.'

Charles Wagley described the territories from Brazil in South America to the Southern United States as 'Plantation America' and as a 'culture sphere.'[6] Referring specifically to Guyanese slave society, Raymond Smith has argued that the plantation was both a unit of production as well as a microcosm of society in which the total life of the African slave was regulated.[7] Within this coercive regime, African culture was emasculated and adherence to a Eurocentric hierarchical authority structure based on race was enforced. The dominance of the plantation enterprise in the British West Indies has led some theorists to declare these colonies even after slavery as 'plantation societies.' Stuart Hall has argued that the 'slave plantation society' was paradigmatic or the 'generative model' for Caribbean social structures. Although change and modification has occurred in these societies over time, there has not been a structural break with the

'generative model.'[8] It was in the context of plantation production that masses of unfree Africans were brought to labour for the profit of white European planters in relations of dominance and subordination legitimated by racism and ethnocentrism. Green has noted that up to emancipation, and sometime beyond, Caribbean plantations 'were the organizing principle for West Indian Society'.[9] Precisely how long after emancipation former slave societies in the Caribbean continued to be structurally organized by the plantation has been a point of contention. In *Persistent Poverty* George Beckford postulated that the model of 'plantation society' was applicable to the contemporary Caribbean.[10] He posited that the plantation was a total system shaping economic, socio-cultural and political relations. According to the argument, it was the plantation as an economic enterprise that brought Europeans and Africans, and in some cases East Indians together in caste relations of exploitation. Consequently, plantation societies exhibited cultural pluralism, rigid stratification and weak communities locked in dependency relations to the metropole. The dominant class in such societies is an oligarchic planter class dominating both politics and the economy.[11]

This concept of a contemporary Caribbean society dominated in 'totality' by the plantation has been criticised. Benn has questioned the theoretical value of the plantation model, since its proposition of a continued 'total system' suggests stasis and its use must therefore be metaphorical.[12] Certainly cognisance must be taken of the decline in agriculture, economic diversification, urbanisation, migration and changing class formations since emancipation.[13] Moreover, during the course of the nineteenth century in some places the plantation system and the planter class were swept away. The conceptual framework of plantation society fails as a general theory when used for the whole post-emancipation Caribbean. Nevertheless, Barbados, up to 1914 and well beyond, evinced many of the features outlined by Beckford. Perhaps no where else in the British West Indies was the plantation so entrenched and so fiercely guarded as in Barbados. What is of particular concern for this study is the question of how the exploitative plantation society is held together. In relation to this Beckford offers some answers which seem extremely relevant to what occurred in late nineteenth-century Barbados. Firstly, he notes that plantation society is held together through a minimal integration around the general dependence on the plantation economy. Secondly, he noted that an educated middle stratum who embraced a Eurocentric value system predicated on the notion of the superiority of white European culture, facilitated social integration. Thirdly, the

mobilization of the people in opposition to occasional external socio-economic or political threats constituted the basis for an integrating weak nationalism. These themes will be elaborated in the course of the following chapters but in a broader conceptual context.

The conceptual model which has perhaps generated more debate than any other in the Caribbean has been the 'plural society' thesis adumbrated by M. G. Smith and which was an elaboration of the concept Furnivall applied to colonial Java and Burma.[14] Furnivall had observed:

> the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples - European, Chinese, Indian and native. It is the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine.... There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit.[15]

Smith rejected the application of post-war Parsonian functionalism with its emphasis on normative value consensus to the British West Indies. Instead, he viewed the typical West Indian society as a discontinuous social structure divided into sections, each section with its own internal stratification and value system but lacking in common values between the various sections. Smith argues that it is the analysis of the cultural-institutional arrangement of any society which is the key to understanding and defining it. He posits:

> The institutions of a people's culture form the matrix of their social structure, simply because the institutional system defines and sanctions the persistent forms of social life. To define the social structure, we must therefore analyze the institutional system.[16]

Smith distinguishes further between what he calls 'basic' or 'compulsory', 'alternative' and 'exclusive' institutions. The 'basic' or 'compulsory' institutions of a society are said to include, 'kinship, education, religion, property and economy, recreation, and certain sodalities.'[17] Societies in which all members share the same institutions throughout are said to be homogenous. When members participate in the basic institutional arrangement but also practise 'alternative' or 'exclusive' institutions, the society is termed heterogenous. For Smith what distinguishes plural societies like the British West Indies is the absence of shared basic institutions. Since the 'sections', which he called, white, brown and black do not share any common basic institutions and hence no shared values. The result is a society which is inherently unstable and which can only be held together by the monopolization

of coercive power by one section. As Smith notes:

> Given the fundamental differences of belief, value, and organization that connote pluralism, the monopoly of power by one cultural section is the essential precondition for the maintenance of the total society in its current form.[18]

Smith's thesis has raised much debate and criticism.[19] Perhaps the first line of attack on the model has been on the static nature of the concept. Harmannus Hoetnik in his review of Smith's work indicates that this type of pluralism may have characterised Caribbean societies in their embryonic stage but cannot account for their subsequent evolution.[20] Robotham has argued that Smith's analysis emphasizes the dominance of one cultural section but fails to demonstrate how the subordinate sections have reaffirmed their own culture in opposition to the dominant one.[21] Malcolm Cross points out that Smith places too much emphasis on institutionalized behaviour without recognising that all actions are not institutionalized.[22] Craig has also pointed to Smith's definition of institution which suggests 'crystallized, indeed reified, unambiguous actions and ideas.'[23]

The emphasis placed on cultural sections in preference to race or class as the basic point of analysis has also been criticised. Racism certainly became a dominant discourse which was deployed as a justification for the exploitation of black labour in the plantation societies of the Americas. Notions of racial difference supported by pseudo social science in the nineteenth century continued to be the major discourse employed in determining whether the majority black population were yet 'ready' to wield political power or 'rational' enough to control economic resources. Mills argues that the dominant ideology was articulated in terms of race, and this was 'the prism through which people understood the world.'[24]

If the plural thesis was intended to be a conflict model of Caribbean society in opposition to Parsonian consensus, then it has also failed as an adequate substitute. Indeed, Smith failed to extricate his thesis from the functionalist preoccupation with normative values as a basis for social cohesion. Instability is attributed fundamentally to the absence of shared cultural values. The plural thesis as adumbrated by Smith has neglected to focus on the ways in which the economy and the education system (to name only two) may have stimulated integration. Moreover, it is not made clear why conflict should be seated or contested primarily around normative cultural values rather than over the control of the state or economic resources.[25] The plural concept does not identify adequately what are

the socio-economic bases of sectionalization and of the dominance of one 'section' in plural society. Furthermore, it can be argued that the sharing of a value system is not *a priori* the basis for either conflict or consensus. 'It is quite possible, however, to conceive of social conflict as arising not only from compatible value systems but also from a common value system in a stratified society.'[26] Cross has also noted that 'norms may legitimate conflict situations as well as ones leading to complementarity of expectation.'[27]

Although the plural society thesis emphasises that culture and society are not coterminous, Smith's mode of analysis leads one to conclude that his is a culturally reductive view of society. Hall has argued that Caribbean societies are extremely complex, and race, colour, status and class are so inextricably bound that conceptual reduction to cultural sections fails to acknowledge the wholeness of post-emancipation societies.[28] This argument does not as Smith has subsequently suggested imply that there was/ is an immutable correlation of race, colour ethnicity and class.[29]

Of Barbados specifically, Smith identifies a high population density as a brake on social reform, nevertheless he posits that '...Barbadians have a history of stable sectional symbiosis'.[30] The general criticisms of socio-cultural pluralism identified elsewhere would certainly apply in the case of Barbados and it is difficult to see how the plural thesis can advance an understanding of Barbados in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Some social scientists in the past have questioned its applicability in the British West Indies except perhaps in the cases of British Guiana and Trinidad. Those colonies experienced significant immigration of East Indians in the post-slavery period with their culture remaining more intact (unlike African slaves).[31] Even so, Brian Moore's explicit testing of the plural versus the stratification concepts in his study of British Guiana between 1838 and 1891 shows that these 'new sections' were being creolised and integrated by the late nineteenth century.[32]

The concept of the 'creole society' has been advanced as an alternative to the static model of pluralism. The creole model emphasises cultural interaction within and between social groups, social change and the emergence of consensus. The explicit historical use of this model was made by Edward Brathwaite in his *Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820.* Essentially, Brathwaite sought to explain the adaptation of both Africans and Europeans to each other in the peculiar conditions of the Caribbean. He argued that the single most important factor in the evolution of Jamaican creole society was 'not the imported influence of the Mother Country'.[33] Instead, Brathwaite sees the major

dynamic in this society as the result of 'a cultural action - material, psychological and spiritual - based upon the stimulus/response of individuals within the society to their environment and as white/black, culturally discrete groups - to each other'.[34] The product of this was a society *sui generis* which was neither a replica of Britain or Africa although drawing on both cultural traditions and effectively linked into what was a mercantilist and imperial arrangement.

Brathwaite identified the processes of acculturation and inter-culturation taking place between black subordinates and the white dominant group. Acculturation he defined as 'the yoking (by force and example, deriving from power/prestige) of one culture to another...' Inter/culturation is described as 'an unplanned, unstructured but osmotic relationship proceeding from this yoke'.[35] Brathwaite postulated that: 'Creole society was *stable* because the under privileged and unprivileged within it conformed to the system, its divisions, and restrictions'. Quoting Monica Schuler he posited: 'The whole slave system began as a coercive one but developed into a system of *consent.*'[36] Brathwaite therefore rejected what he characterised as the pessimism of Derek Walcott, Orlando Patterson and V. S. Naipaul.[37] In his *Middle Passage* Naipaul concluded: 'History is built around achievement and creation; and nothing was created in the West Indies.'[38] What is therefore refreshing about the creole argument is the fact that while it recognises the domination and exploitation of one group over others, the creative agency of the oppressed majority is recognised. It therefore provides a possibility of assessing how, in spite of coercive constraints, oppressed groups may yet achieve relative cultural autonomy. Indeed, Brathwaite perceived the 'Afro-creole' dynamic to be at the cutting edge of West Indian creativity and adaptation rather than from the 'Euro-creoles' who cling to their pale copy of European culture or from the ambivalent middle stratum. It was the rejection and devaluing of Afro-creole culture by superordinate whites which is said to have accounted for the white European bias.

R. T. Smith agrees that the process of the integration of all races around the local creole culture gave way to an orientation towards white metropolitan culture during the period of 'colonial society' after 1865.[39] It was the imposition of (and surrender to) Crown Colony rule in Jamaica which Brathwaite perceived as responsible for attenuating the 'inscrutable process' of creolization. Brathwaite therefore sees 'colonial society' by the late nineteenth century as more alienated from its creole identity and retarded by deeper political and industrial links with Europe and America.[40] Generally Caribbean societies

were said to have suffered 'cultural disnomia' and 'incomplete creolization'.[41] The distinction made between 'creole society' and 'colonial society' and the associated periodization is problematic. Brathwaite sees the acquiescence by the Jamaican ruling class to Crown Colony Government in 1865 as a negation of the creole dynamic and of the black contribution. However, it would be difficult to uphold an argument which suggested that because Barbados did not acquiesce to Crown Colony Government that the process of creolization was any more dynamic there than in Jamaica. Irrespective of the form of government, the white external bias was a significant orientation of ruling-class whites and their agents across the Caribbean - before and after 1865.

The thesis of socio-cultural creolization has been used as a leitmotif for Watson's study of Barbadian society in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century.[42] He argues that the Island's small size, its relatively large stratified white population, a large local plantocracy, a high percentage of creole-born blacks, and the existence of a nascent nationalism facilitated creolization.[43] Unquestionably, a cultural-nationalist teleology appears to inform the notion of 'incomplete creolization'. Brathwaite laments the fact that Caribbean societies have failed 'to complete the creolizing process.'[44] Brathwaite and Watson wrote in the context of decolonization and independence in the former British Caribbean.[45] Watson noted in the introduction to his book '...there are strong political and social implications involved for the young states, for a strong sense of national identity can only be maintained with the support of viable, identifiable national cultures.'[46] Perhaps the creole thesis was itself the outcome of a search for a 'usable' past and common culture to guide post-colonial Caribbean states still torn by socio-economic and other divisions and metropolitan dependence. Raymond Smith argues that in Barbados despite the 'colour bar', there 'developed a deep sense of national unity and a common "culture" - even if it appeared abjectly pro-British at times'.[47]

Creolization does have its shortcomings as an explanatory theory largely because it often concentrates on cultural interaction without adequately dealing with its intersection with class interest and struggle. For instance, Brathwaite describes creolization as 'osmotic', 'inscrutable' and writes of the 'natural built-in drive or gravitational tendency towards cultural autonomy.'[48] Brathwaite himself admits this analysis has to be done more firmly in the context of the interplay of external orientations and internal 'class consciousness and class interests.'[49]

In addition to these 'indigenous' theories of Caribbean society and culture, attempts

have also been made to try other established theories of European sociology. In the main these have been theories of class stratification within the Weberian or Marxian tradition. Raymond Smith, for example, opted for a Weberian class analysis of the post-emancipation period especially from the late nineteenth century.[50] Smith conceives of class stratification in non-antagonistic occupational-status terms even though he acknowledges that class interests were at times maintained through coercive or ideological mechanisms. He is in agreement with Edward Brathwaite that the introduction of Crown Colony Government was significant for post-emancipation stratification. This intervention although not eliminating traditional discrimination nevertheless introduced 'liberal ideologies' which stressed individual achievement.[51]

Lloyd Brathwaite advances an even more favourable view of imperial intervention. Writing of post-emancipation Trinidad, Brathwaite postulates that the acceptance of the British social system as superior along with its scale of ideas resulted in the exchanging of the values of subordinate ethnic groups for British ones.[52] 'Thus, although the ascriptive color values were the dominant ones in the island, the universalistic-achievement values of the larger social system also invaded the island society.'[53] This assessment contrasts sharply with that of Edward Brathwaite who viewed the surrender to metropolitan administration and values as effectively stultifying the creative creole processes. R. T. Smith chides Lloyd Brathwaite for his simple linear view of transition from a particularistic-ascriptive slave society to a supposed universalistic-achievement one without giving adequate attention to the contradictions during the change.[54] Smith indicates that '"achievement" was predicated upon assimilation to a very particularistic model of status...that of the British official class.'[55]

Marxian analyses of the post-emancipation Caribbean have generally avoided the mechanical, economistic, and reductionist approaches once associated with 'classical' Marxism. Caribbean analyses, not surprisingly, have been insensitive to the peculiarity of the region and the important factors of culture, race, colour, ethnicity, gender and historical specificity. Walter Rodney for example, applied a Marxist approach to his analysis of British Guiana in the period, 1881 to 1905.[56] Rodney's analysis centred principally around the relations between the white capitalist planter class on one hand, and the black creole and indentured Asian proletariat on the other. However, he acknowledges that cultural differences between Africans and Indians were obstacles to trans-racial proletarian unity. Creolization and common work culture did facilitate class consciousness, although

inadequately and indecisively.[57] Rodney argued that it was white racist propaganda which created ideological confusion and psychological oppression and were as critical to ruling-class dominance as were administrative sanctions and coercion.[58] He writes:

> ...the impact of racist perceptions was obviously magnified, and its principal consequence was to hold back the maturing of working class unity by offering an explanation of exploitation and oppression that seemed reasonably consistent with aspects of people's life experience.[59]

Stuart Hall draws attention to the fact that in Caribbean society, race, colour and other somatic attributes combine with other factors like education, occupation, income and life-style in the constitution of the social structure. However he posits that:

> ...this is not, usefully considered as an ethnic or race-based or even race-colour based social system, but a social class stratification system in which the race-colour elements in the stratification matrix constitute the visible index of a more complex structure.[60]

No simple dichotomous class analysis can be applied to society and culture in Barbados or anywhere in the post-emancipation Caribbean. This does not however invalidate dialectical analyses which are sensitive to the mediation of complex socio-cultural indices. Proletarian oppression was often articulated by the white bourgeoisie in terms of race and culture, and opposition to this dominance often took a similar form. Ken Post in reference to the 1938 labour struggle in Jamaica argues, 'This opposition could be expressed through racial consciousness, religious revivalism, nationalism, or class consciousness; the reality was in fact a combination of all four.'[61]

Cecilia Karch's examination of class formation in post-emancipation Barbados from about 1860 illustrates what can be accomplished using an historical materialist perspective which recognises the close link between class and race.[62] She appreciates the importance of locating Barbados within an imperial and dependent capitalist context, but recognises that these factors could not predetermine the dynamic of Barbadian society. Karch recognises that since racism was integral to the domination of the agro-commercial bourgeoisie, racial consciousness would be an ingredient of challenging that domination.[63]

Stuart Hall has pointed out that there was a need for a sophisticated non-reductionist class analysis of Caribbean society which could deal with ''complexifying' factors in the formation of self-images, social symbolism, identity and culture' through which

'consciousness' was mediated.[64] Hall was in fact suggesting an approach informed by the work of Antonio Gramsci of whom he has been a leading apostle in British cultural studies. Gramsci provided a theoretical orientation for radical historians unsatisfied with the 'traditional' treatment of culture and ideology in previous Marxian paradigms.[65] This work offers a number of possibilities to surmount some of the persistent difficulties not only in Marxism but also competing paradigms.[66] For example Craig had observed that the debate surrounding the plurality versus integration models used for explaining Caribbean social structure reflected the limitation of the conflict versus consensus debates in North Atlantic sociology.[67] Gramsci himself pictured the exercise of ruling-class power as the 'Machiavelli's Centaur - half-animal and half-human' expressed at 'the levels of force and of consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilisation...'[68] It is the concept of hegemony which is central to Gramsci's theorization of power in 'modern' capitalist societies. Gramsci's own use of 'hegemony' reveals semantic shifts and what Perry Anderson calls 'conceptual slippage'.[69]

There are however a number of features of the concept which are summarized by Joseph Woolcock and[70] which will inform the more empirical study of the ideological and cultural practices in the following chapters. First, Gramsci rejects crude economistic reductionism but acknowledges that the hegemonic ruling classes tends to enjoy a primacy over the economy.[71] Gramsci noted that hegemony derived from the

> 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.[72]

Secondly, he argued that the ruling class in constituting a 'hegemonic historic bloc' will 'negotiate' compromises and forge cross-class alliances which are both economic and cultural.[73] Having done so the ruling hegemonic bloc articulates its own interest to be that of the subordinate classes and the society as a whole.[74] In this exercise forms of popular culture may also be incorporated to create or heighten a sense of national wholeness and common interests. Fundamentally, for the hegemony of a ruling class, to exist consent must be secured from the subordinate classes to the existing social relations. The nature of 'consent' is the key to understanding of hegemony. Femia argues that the Gramscian concept of hegemony is qualitatively superior to both consensus and conflict models.[75]

'Consent, for Gramsci' observes Jackson-Lears, 'involves a complex mental state a "contradictory consciousness" mixing approbation and apathy, resistance and resignation.'[76] Hegemonic consent therefore does not eliminate the dialectic of struggle and class antagonism. Indeed the working classes demonstrate from time to time their capacity for protest action but it tends not to be rooted in an unequivocal class action but rather mediated by an 'everyday commonsense' view of the world. The working class is therefore kept in check not so much by value-consensus but by their ambivalence.[77] According to Gramsci:

> The active man-in-the-mass has a practical activity...but has no clear theoretical consciousness of his practical activity...His theoretical consciousness can indeed be historically in opposition to his action. One might say that he has two theoretical consciousness (or one contradictory consciousness)...[78]

Hegemony avoids the one-dimensional analysis of power which might for example picture an omnipotent ruling class completely dominating an alienated, supine or pathological working class; or that of a coherently conscious proletariat in perpetual, unremitting struggle against domination. As a theory hegemony cannot predict the outcome of the relations between ruling and subordinate classes. Given the very nature of society with its complexity of social relations, ideologies and cultural pursuits, it is difficult to see how it was possible for *any* ruling class to *completely* secure an uncontested hegemony.

Virtually all the historians who have examined post-emancipation Caribbean socio-cultural relations have emphasised the gulf which existed between the cultural codes which the white ruling classes and their agents sought to encourage or impose, and the actual responses of the oppressed masses. Social and cultural resistance is therefore a re-occurring theme. As the review of social theory has demonstrated, a key role has been assigned to the (usually black and coloured) educated middle class in mediating between these 'two societies.' Brereton argues for example, that the essential characteristic of the coloured and black middle class of Trinidad in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was not wealth or complexion but the 'command of European culture.'[79] This educated middle stratum provided the majority of teachers and community leaders and therefore constituted the cultural brokers Gramsci refers to as the 'intellectuals'.[80] Bryan who has employed a Gramscian analysis of Jamaica between 1880 and 1902 has demonstrated that even though the black educated middle classes may have been co-opted

into the hegemonic agenda, their position was occasionally ambivalent.[81] The black middle class may have enjoyed 'respectability' defined in white European cultural terms but racism remained a barrier.[82]

Gender and Hegemony

Without any specific reference to gender, Stuart Hall declared that Caribbean society represents 'one of the most complex social systems on earth.'[83] The vigorous debates concerning the theorization of the post-emancipation period up to the 1980s remained largely in the 'malestream' and Craig suggested that there was the need to incorporate '[s]exual oppression, as a major axis of social cleavage.'[84] However, from the mid-1970s there has been a growing literature attempting to establish the empirical foundations for an understanding the significance of the relations between men and women to the constitution of specific Caribbean societies. This growing historiography attempts to reclaim the experience of women in a number of spheres, including the family, work and in resistance but so far this historiography has been heavily weighted in favour of the slavery period.[85] Rhoda Reddock's recently published study on women and labour in Trinidad and Tobago demonstrates the relationship between capitalist colonial exploitation and the sexual division of labour, as well as the hegemonic ideologies which supported it.[86]

Feminists historians have been in the *avant garde* of gender history as they seek to uncover the irreducible experience of women. Gender is however not a synonym for women and as Scott has pointed out 'gender' is the social and cultural organization of relationships between the sexes, and therefore women cannot be studied in isolation from men, inasmuch as the proletariat cannot be studied without reference to the bourgeoisie.[87] Gisela Bock however points out that whereas there is this insistence that women should be studied in relation to men the reverse is rarely the case.[88] It is important therefore to explore how male gender-consciousness emerge in the context of social relationships with women and indeed other men. The cultural construction of hegemonic ideologies of power, authority, leadership or subservience were invariably constructed in gender terms and through agencies which all emphasised the separate spheres of the sexes. Of course there is not a monolithic experience of maleness or femaleness. These intersect with race ethnicity class and other social indices. Brodber's work on black women in Jamaica at the turn of the century is a good example of what can be done.[89] This current study will make

some attempt to address how social and cultural gender constructions may have reinforced or threaten the hegemony of the superordinate classes.

The Gramscian concept of hegemony although widely used in social and cultural analyses is not without serious difficulties. Attention has already been drawn to the conceptual slippage and semantic shifts in Gramsci's terms which Anderson and others have sought to put in context.[90] In addition, there is an unmistakable revolutionary teleology which underscores the work of Gramsci who, after all, was concerned with revolutionary praxis. As Jackson-Lears admits: 'His revolutionary commitment both energized and narrowed his vision.'[91] Gramsci attempted to avoid the traditional Marxian dichotomies of base and superstructure and examine the ways in which ruling classes predominate in society as a whole. However insurmountable dualisms prevail. This is especially true in the analysis of the relationship of the State and Civil Society, hegemony and coercion. Femia has emphasised that hegemony is 'predominance obtained by consent rather than force of one class or group over other classes.'[92] Jackson-Lears notes that coercion is resorted to only when hegemony breaks down.[93] However, distinguishing between the preponderance of consent or coercion is not a straightforward exercise. Anderson for example, alludes to the 'silent, absent force...the monopoly of legitimate violence by the State' without which 'cultural control' would be ineffective.[94] Jackson-Lears observes Gramsci's neglects varieties of constraints, such as the fear of unemployment, which may fall somewhere between coercion and consent.[95] Femia argues that hegemony offers an explanation 'why the conflict that would seem to be inherent in a system based on competition for scarce resources is submerged or domesticated.'[96] Endemic explicit protest may be absent but one cannot assume that ruling class hegemony has been achieved. Furthermore, hegemony (as leadership by consent) may indeed have been *preferable* but not always seen to be *necessary* by ruling elites.

Finally, as the following chapters will illustrate the state of the consciousness of the oppressed masses in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is not easy to assess. Silence did not necessarily mean consent. It more often than not simply meant that the exploited groups did not leave memoirs, official correspondence and newspaper articles. The interpretations of their action were invariably those of government authorities, clergymen and the ruling classes themselves. In spite of its shortcomings hegemony points to an analysis which supersedes the crude functionalism (both Parsonian and Marxian) of

the past. Where culture served as the hand maiden of hegemony it was not simply the result of ruling-class manipulation of the 'false conscious' masses. The white ruling classes of Barbados attempted to exercise hegemony in Barbados between 1880 and 1914 but their approach was not always consistent and the extent to which they succeeded or failed is the concern of the following chapters.

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CHAPTER 2

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN PLANTATION SOCIETY

The Report of the 1897 West India Royal Commission described Barbados as 'markedly different from that of any other colony of the West Indies...very thickly populated... no crown lands, no forest, no uncultivated areas.'[1] According to the census of 1881 this island of a mere 166 square miles had a population of 171,452, or about 1,030 persons per square mile - by far the highest population density in the West Indies.

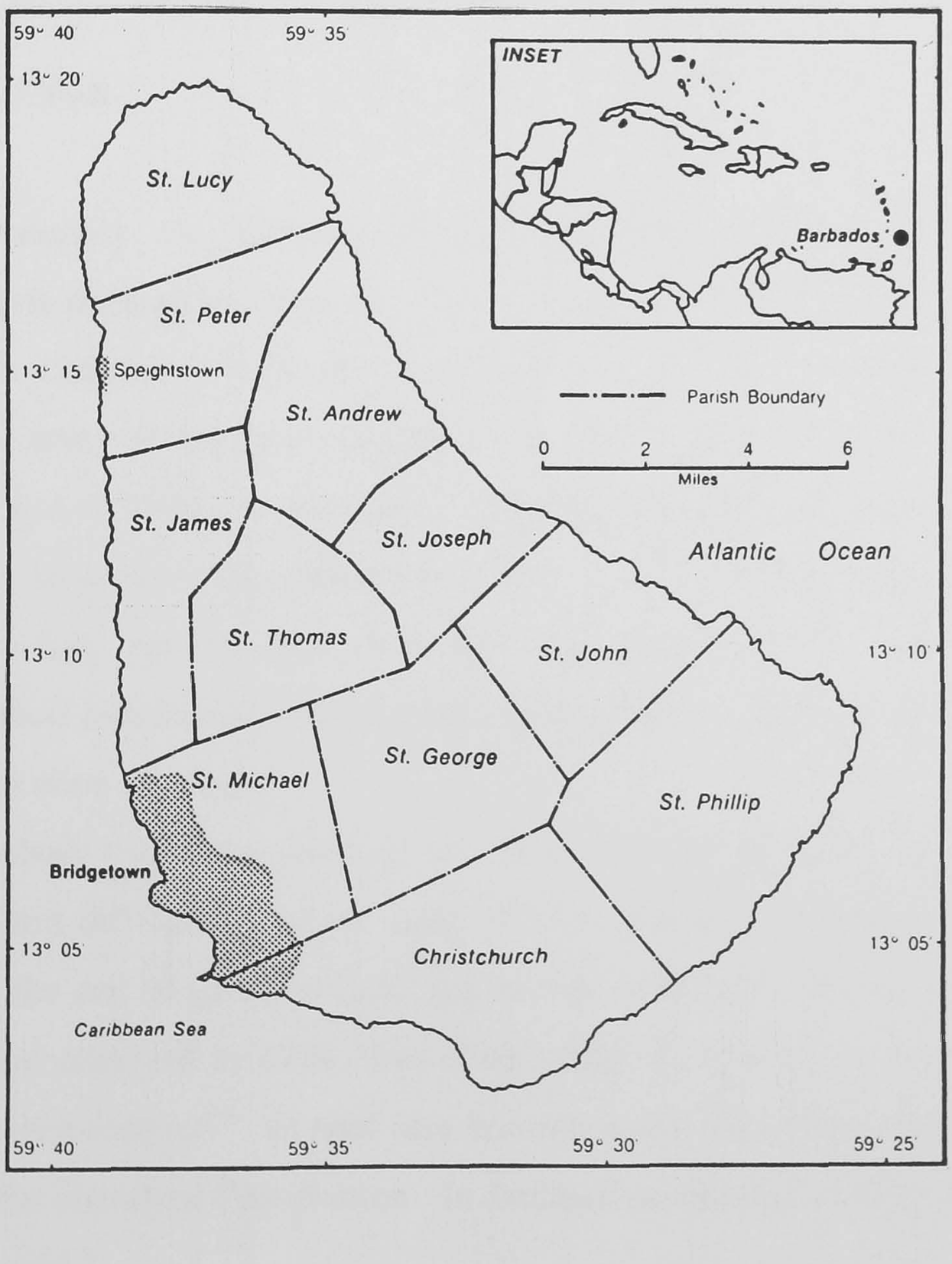

Figure 1.1 Map of Barbados showing the capital and parishes.

The struggle for human survival in this overcrowded land centred on the sugar plantation. 'Barbados is one sugar-estate,' Paton observed, '...sugar cane everywhere! nothing but sugar cane! Planters and plantations, sugar, molasses, rum!'[2] The acting Colonial Secretary reported in 1884-85 that, 'the main - it may almost be said, the sole industry of the colony is the growth and manufacture of sugar.'[3] An 1887 business directory listed 466 plantations with a total acreage of 91,748 accounting for a stunning eighty-six percent of the island's total land space. There could be little argument with Mr Rutherford when he said, 'they [Barbadians] are all dependent on sugar from the governor downwards.'[4] The Chief Justice emphasised that 'the sugar industry is the sole industry, which upholds and maintains the entire fabric of society in Barbados in its moral, social, physical and administrative character as a community.'[5]

Sugar in Crisis

Generally, the Barbados planters fared better than their other British Caribbean counterparts during the series of crises experienced by the sugar industry throughout the nineteenth century. Barbados was buzzing with large numbers of black agricultural labourers, many of whom were 'located' on the estates under the terms of the Masters and Servants Act of 1840. In exchange for being allowed to remain on a piece of plantation 'rab land', labourers were contracted to work for their landlord-'masters' for usually twenty to twenty-five percent less than non-domiciled workers. For a breach of these asymmetrical contractual arrangements, located labourers faced prosecution, eviction and the confiscation of crops.[6]

Labour was not a problem for the planters of Barbados but Britain's commercial policy posed difficulties for all sugar planters. Britain's Sugar Duties Act of 1846 had signalled the end of protectionism and mutual monopoly, for colonial imports. All sugar duties were removed in 1874, thus eliminating the special preference and protection the colonies once enjoyed.[7] Capital also became scarce and some plantations throughout the West Indies abandoned production. In Jamaica for example, 168 estates ceased operations in this period.[8]

In contrast, Barbados experienced a temporary setback; some rationalization took place in the field and mill, but production costs were lowered principally through the reduction of wages from ten pence to seven pence per day.[9] Substantial changes in

plantation ownership occurred in the British West Indies between 1854 and 1885 as indebted estates passed into the hands of a few large metropolitan-based commercial conglomerates which had replaced many of the old consignee merchants. In 1883 eighty-three percent of the estates in British Guiana were owned by nonresidents,[10] and by the end of the century the entire sugar production was in the hands of six commercial firms.[11] Barbados planters had pursued a policy that staved off external capital control, choosing instead to forge a greater alliance with the local mercantile sector.[12] Of the big Barbados planter it was said:

> "Barbados for the Barbadians" is one of his mottoes, one that he is mindful of always. He does not like the idea of "foreigners" which term, by the way, includes Englishmen and Britishers generally, sharing in the industrial profits of the country.[13]

The Barbados planter-merchant elite could not thwart the changing forces of international capitalism and industrialization forever. Without the cloak of imperial protection Barbadian and West Indian exports were brought in face to face competition in international markets with the produce of the industrialized world. The dumping of subsidized beet sugar by a number of European countries on the British market, eventually precipitated a prolonged crisis in the West Indian sugar industry from 1884. The West India Committee lobbied unsuccessfully from the 1870s to block the entry of bountied beet sugar to the British market.

Bounties on German beet sugar doubled between 1883 to 1884, and output increased from 594,360 tons in 1880 to 1,154,816 tons in 1884.[14] Of the 559,000 tons of beet sugar imported into the United Kingdom in 1884, 398,00 or 71.1 percent came from Germany.[15] Whereas in 1882, cane sugar commanded 64.7 percent of the British market, by 1886 it had plunged to 47.9 percent and slid further to 23 percent by 1894. The British West Indies share of the cane sugar supplied to this market declined considerably from 27 percent in 1882 to a low of 18.3 percent in 1886. There was no doubt that the increasing share of the United Kingdom's market by European beet sugar was responsible for the corresponding decline of cane sugar exports.

This change in fortune for West Indian sugar in its once secured market did not result from a diminution in the demand for sugar. Indeed, sugar consumption was expanding rapidly worldwide and the United Kingdom set the pace. Consumption there rose from 65.4 pounds per head in 1880-84, 72 pounds in 1887, and 82 pounds per head

by 1896.[16] As already indicated, from 1885 the majority of this was European beet sugar which meant that the British consumer could now consume a higher quality of sugar more cheaply.

Consequently, the price of muscovado fell from seventeen shillings per hundredweight in January 1884 to ten shillings per hundredweight by December 1884. In the same period crystals dropped from twenty-two shillings to fourteen shillings.[17] The Colonial Office was advised, 'that this disastrous year for the West Indies was well weathered by Barbados;' but that 'there were ominous signs of decadence during the last quarter' of 1884.[18] Merchants cut imports in anticipation of reduced demands for many consumer items,[19] and the situation showed no signs of abating when in 1886 sugar prices dropped further and Barbados exported only 39,335 tons of sugar, the lowest of that decade. Estate prices, which averaged £57 per acre between 1880 and 1886, dropped to a low of £26 per acre in 1887.[20]

The economic crisis took a turn for the worse from 1894. A prolonged dry spell in 1894, exacerbated by attacks of sugar cane fungal disease and pests, saw sugar exports fall in 1895 by 18,152 tons from the previous year; the 32,806 tons of sugar exported in 1895 was the lowest since 1886.[21] Moreover, sugar prices declined even further, from approximately eleven shillings per hundredweight in 1893 to about nine shillings in 1896. Losses for the planters became virtually universal, default on interest payments was widely reported, labour shedding occurred, wages of labourers were slashed by 20 percent, and labour protests escalated.

The appointment of Joseph Chamberlain as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1895 awakened hope throughout the British West Indies that some form of imperial intervention would be forthcoming. The legislature of Barbados, and the British West Indies in general wasted no time in petitioning Chamberlain on the long grievous issue of the crippling effect of bounties on their sugar industry. By late 1896 a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Norman, a former governor of Jamaica, was appointed and charged with investigating the general condition and prospect of the sugar industry, as well as the impact of the depression on the general fabric of society in the British West Indies. The commissioners met with the absentee sugar interest in London before sailing for the West Indies. One absentee owner with estate property in Barbados solemnly warned the Commission that, 'if the sugar industry be destroyed, all progress and social order will be upset, and the negro return to savagery.'[22] Of course the white Barbados

planter-merchant class had long before 1896 understood the import of this; the crisis of the late nineteenth century served to deepen their commitment to maintaining the status quo through domination and hegemony.

Local Response and Reform

As the diminution in trade between the British West Indies and the Mother Country became irreversible, alternative markets were sought and the United States of America became a very important market for Barbados and West Indian sugar in the late nineteenth century.[23] The United States was second only to the United Kingdom as a consumer of sugar. Whereas the United States' per capita consumption of sugar was 38.7 pounds per head between 1880-84, by 1887 it had risen substantially to 62.54 pounds per head. Within the decade, 1880-1890, the United Kingdom's imports of produce from Barbados fell from 43.2 to 7.4 percent, while the United States proportion increased from 24.8 to 61 percent for the same period. The was especially reflected in sugar exports.[24]

Table 2.1. Major Destinations for Barbados Sugar Exports, 1882-1896

Year	United Kingdom		United States		Canada	Canada
	Value £	%	Value £	%	Value £	%
1882	504,387	60.7	140,730	16.9	179,813	21.6
1886	186,004	39.7	270,634	57.8	7,494	1.6
1890	119,800	13.7	716,525	82.4	24,850	2.8
1896	30,055	8.0	398,580	91.3	7,098	1.6

Source: PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, p. 201.

When negotiations between the United Kingdom and the United States to enable the latter to enjoy trade reciprocity with the British West Indies failed, one visitor, 'found the Barbadians in a fever of excitement and indignation...talking politics and political economy.'[25] Although Britain's share of West Indian imports was declining, she was unwilling to allow American goods access to West Indian markets on the same terms as British goods.[26] Imperial pride, one contemporary suggested, would not allow a situation

where West Indians may prefer an existence under the stars and stripes.[27] Jamaicans debated the possibility of annexation to the United States[28] but Barbadians, '...not withstanding their anger (and it was hot) at the shabby treatment they had received at the hands of the home government, ...remained royally loyal to the English Crown.'[29] Loyalty notwithstanding, 'they look to the Home Country to get them out, but they look in vain.'[30]

It was not that higher prices could be fetched on the United States' market. It did however offer a more ready outlet for muscovado and because of the relative proximity of the United States to the West Indies, cost, insurance and freight was estimated at about 1s.6d. per hundredweight compared to £2.8s for Britain.[31] In addition, Barbados-U.S. trade was a boost to the local merchants who did a thriving trade in the cheaper mass-consumed American goods.

The imperial government refused to revive colonial protectionism but renewed efforts to facilitate British West Indian trade with North America. A favourable reciprocal trade agreement with the United States was successfully concluded on the behalf of the British West Indies in 1891[32] but not without a *quid pro quo,* which for Barbados entailed the loss of £12,000 on import duties levied on United States goods, due to a fifty percent reduction in the duty on bread, biscuits, salt beef and corn flour.[33] This was an unhappy situation for Barbados, which, like the rest of the British Caribbean, raised government revenue by discriminatory indirect taxation on the food products consumed by the masses.[34] The agreement was short-lived as a result of the United States' own interest in Puerto Rico and Cuban sugar.

Like the United States, Canada became a growing alternative market for Barbados within the first decade of the twentieth century. In an effort to obtain a bigger slice of the West Indies - North American trade, Canada unilaterally offered preferential tariffs to the West Indies in 1897. In 1890 Canada's minister of finance toured the West Indies with the view of establishing some form of trade reciprocity. Canada's overtures received no enthusiastic response, until the special agreement between the West Indies and the United States had ended. Barbados' exports to the United States declined steadily after 1904 on account of the preference given by the latter to Cuban sugar. Consequently, by 1905 Canada had become the major destination for the island's sugar.[35]

Ruling-Class Politics and Economic Injustice

The planter-merchant class controlled the mutually reinforcing spheres of the economy and formal politics. The bicameral legislature consisted of an elected House of Assembly of twenty-four persons, two from each parish and the city who were elected annually, and a Legislative Council which constituted an upper chamber with powers of review and veto. The latter chamber consisted normally of nine persons, the majority of whom were usually prominent planters sometimes 'elevated' from the lower chamber on appointment by the Crown on the Governor's recommendation. The Executive consisted of the Governor who represented the Crown, and an Executive Council consisting of the Commander of the troops, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General and two unofficial nominees. The qualifications for candidature for the House of Assembly were: the possession and ownership of 30 acres of land with a dwelling house of at least £300, an estate for life in lands and tenements of the annual value of £125, or an annual income of £200 from a profession or trade. These qualifications, in effect, ensured the exclusion from this 'representative' forum, all except those of substantial means.

In the wake of the 1876 confederation proposals, the Barbados legislature had successfully defeated the efforts of the Colonial Office to make radical changes to the local constitution which were seen as the thin edge of the wedge to introduce Crown Colony government. With the riot of 1876 quelled, a compromise was reached with the Colonial Office which resulted in the passage of the Executive Committee Act in 1881.[36] The Executive Committee was chaired by the Governor and consisted of the members of his Executive Council, four nominees from the House of Assembly, and one from the Legislative Council. It was in effect a quasi 'cabinet', bridging Executive and Legislative powers, and held the sole prerogative for money bills. Greater government accountability resulted without the need to dismantle the elected Assembly.

Franchise reform was an associated measure which the planter-merchant oligarchy undertook to make their peace with the Colonial Office, and at the same time steer-off further local disaffection. The Confederation crisis had served to focus on the need for political reform in Barbados. In 1881 from a population of 171,452, 1,600 persons qualified for the franchise out of which 1,219 were registered voters.[37] It was reported that,

> the House of Assembly was a representative body only in name, and the return of members of annual general elections was regarded by the bulk of the people with apathy and indifference. Contests at the polls were almost unknown, the same members being elected year after year by the two or three persons in each constituency, who, in courtesy to the sheriffs and candidates, presented themselves on nomination days.[38]

The Elective Franchise Extension Act (1884) was passed unanimously by both chambers of the legislature. It was hailed as, 'the commencement of a new political era in the Colony.'[39] The freehold qualification was reduced from £12.16s.6d. to £5. A £15 occupation qualification, irrespective of residence, replaced the former £32.1s for urban dwellers. The rate-paying qualification of £3.4s which had previously been applied everywhere, was reduced to £2 for Bridgetown and £1 elsewhere. The former £64. 2d leasehold qualification was abolished and the Act also enfranchised physicians, solicitors, barristers or holders of degrees and any male earning an annual salary of £50.

These changes were not intended to enfranchise the black working class majority. Conrad Reeves (later Sir Conrad) a conservative coloured member of the House who conceptualized the constitutional compromise, made it clear that the extension of the franchise was aimed at the 'safe and respectable' classes.[40] The House of Assembly, was willing to countenance 'a moderate extension' of the franchise, especially since this 'lateral extension' would embrace professionals who were not substantial property owners such as clerks, and lower-level plantation functionaries like supervisors and book-keepers.[41] The middle classes of all shades had demonstrated their loyalty to the white ruling class during the Confederation crisis, and extending the vote to more of them was an investment for future loyalty. The high property and income qualification for candidates (outlined above), remained unchanged, indicating the view that formal political power should remain in the same hands.

Nine resignations in 1884 provided an opportunity to elect new members, and it was reported that 'the infusion of so much new blood into the Assembly has roused a greater interest in the proceedings of the House of Assembly than is usually felt in the country.'[42] This optimism was premature as subsequent Reports revealed that there was only a single contest in both 1885 and 1886, none in 1887, and one in 1888 and 1890.[43] The passage of the Ballot Act and the Corrupt Practices Act in 1885 protected the secrecy of the individual vote but could not remove entirely, the economic power which local planters wielded over tenant and peasant alike. The *Times* for example, told how a landed

proprietor from St. Joseph had allegedly tried to intimidate one of those artisans who engaged in peasant cane farming. The artisan on declaring that he was committed to supporting another candidate from the one favoured by the proprietor was told: 'If I had known you were going to behave like this, I wouldn't have ground your canes for you.'[44]

The merchants who became members in the House of Assembly had interests in sugar plantations themselves, either as proprietors or as creditors. Professionals such as barristers, solicitors and physicians were often themselves the progeny of land owners, or related through intermarriage. It was this resulting 'family politics' which ensured the political and economic survival of the planter-merchant class.[45]

At the parochial level the planters also dominated the Vestries. The maintenance of roads, chapels and schools and parish poor relief were financed at this level from rates imposed on land, buildings, animals and trade, as well as from pew rents. Vestry amendment Acts passed in 1891, 1896 and 1899, reduced the number of vestrymen in the various parishes because of the numerical shortage of planters to fill the positions. At the same time there was a refusal to lower the freehold qualification which would have enabled smaller land owners to become eligible for vestry service. Hodgson made it clear that the small land owners of one quarter to three acres were mostly 'part uneducated coloured men.'[46] Therefore, '[a] reduction of the freehold qualification in order to render the small freeholder eligible, would admit a class of persons who... could not be trusted to rightly administer the parochial revenue.'[47]

The domination of the political process by men of the propertied white minority, bolstered by a 'safe and respectable' black and coloured middle class, ensured the dominance of the former over the economic resources of the society. Women were excluded from the formal process at all levels but white upper-class women did provide the essential conjugal bridge between the planters and merchants sealing their bond as a class. It is against this political background that the mobilization of the local state to protect the creole planter-merchant class even when the imperial state had recanted from protectionism, must be analysed.

At a time when capital investment in the sugar industry had virtually dried up the Barbados legislature played a critical role in maintaining confidence in the local sugar enterprise. When sugar prices plunged in 1884 the legislature responded swiftly by passing an Act in which government would guarantee the security of advances to the industry.[48] Having met with disapproval from the Colonial Office, the Agricultural Aids Act of 1887

was passed, which, although not offering government security, enabled planters to obtain loans from merchants and insurance societies on the security of growing crops.[49] This local credit held primacy over any other and permitted struggling plantations to continue operating year to year. The importance of this capital lifeline to the planters may be judged by the fact that 138 plantations, comprising over 30,000 acres or about half of the acreage in sugar production, were operating under the Act in 1896.[50] These plantations borrowed a total of £229,662 between 1893 and 1896.[51]

The Agricultural Aids Act, coupled with the Chancery Court, were the major political creations intended to keep sugar plantations viable. The Chancery Court was Barbados' peculiar answer to the Encumbered Estates Act which had been passed by Britain in 1854. The latter was intended to facilitate the sale of heavily indebted British West Indian estates to new owners who could recapitalize the sugar industry. Barbados had refused to make provision for the operation of this Act because it was seen as an instrument to transfer local property into the hands of British merchant capitalists. Metropolitan based merchants had been the traditional financiers of West Indian sugar estates. In return sugar exports were consigned to these merchants in the ships designated by them, and all debts thereby incurred by the plantations to merchants were to take priority. In 1879, Thomas Daniels and Company, a merchant firm of London with substantial interests in Barbados, sought to claim the primacy of the consignee lien in respect to an estate in Barbados to which large advances had been made. Response in Barbados was swift. Interested planters and creditors like the Barbados Mutual Life Assurance Society and the Savings Bank, formed the Barbados Association for the Protection of Lien against Plantations in order to challenge the claims of this firm.[52] In 1882 Barbados legislated explicitly against the operation of the consignee lien and so protected from external acquisition, indebted local plantations.

The Barbados Court of Chancery served the interests of local planters in a way in which the Encumbered Estates Court could not. Mr. Chandler, who had been the Master-in-Chancery from 1882, explained the r*aison d'etre* and operation of the system to the West India Royal Commission in 1897:

> When the owner of a plantation is unable to carry on its cultivation to the satisfaction of the mortgagees, or to pay them their interests, a foreclosure bill in Chancery is filed. Unlike the filing of a bill in England, the mortgagee does not take possession of the plantation, but a receiver is appointed by the Court and for this reason. The carrying on of the

> cultivation of a plantation necessitates the advancing of large sums of money, and the mortgagee, if he entered into possession, would have to find the money and it might prove a very hard thing for him to be able to do. A receiver when appointed takes possession of the plantation, and raises money either under the Agricultural Aids Act, or by some other means, that money being a first lien against the plantation.[53]

Of the 138 plantations operating under the Agricultural Aids Act in 1896, 94 were run by their owners and the other 44 by receivers in chancery.[54] Although a mortgagee could take possession of an estate and receive the rents and profits, no immediate sale of an indebted estate could be effected outside the Court of Chancery. The appointment of a receiver by the Court to work an estate for at least one year was a means of allowing for the payment of interests to the creditors. At the end of a year the accounts of the estate in question would be examined by the Court, seven appraisers - 'agriculturalists of repute' were appointed to assess the value of the land, buildings, implements and the growing crop.[55] These 'agriculturalists of repute' protected their vested interest as a class and ensured that land prices remained artificially high despite the fall in sugar prices. The system of appraisal was 'a farce', as W. H. Greaves described it.[56] The Colonial Secretary's Report for 1897 suggested the same thing in more diplomatic language: 'I do not think it will be controverted that the appraisement (whether it represents the true value of the land, as is often argued, or not) is generally much in excess of any sum likely to be paid for it'.[57] The effect of the system was that

> it has so far resulted in keeping fitful life in the bankrupt estate, in keeping the owner still owner in name and in holding out a will-o'-the wisp fantasy to owners and mortgagees that some day things will be better...The manifest objection to the system is that it puts obstacles in the way of new ownership, and of possibly fresh capital...[58]

Planters and officials, before the Royal Commissioners in 1897, denied consistently that there was a potential peasantry-in-waiting should land be more readily available. This was refuted by working class representatives who observed that 'there has always been a disposition on the part of agricultural labourers to acquire land but hitherto, the difficulty for him was to find parties willing to sell the acre, more or less, which he may desire to acquire.'[59] Even if agricultural labourers may have had difficulty in acquiring capital for such purchases there were 'many men, not exactly labourers, who would invest in land if they had the opportunity'.[60] But Mr Chandler, Master-in-Chancery, was reported to

'having decidedly set his face in opposition to any partition sale, that is, selling plantations in lots.[61] Mr. Marston, speaking for the working class, argued that the chancery system was 'rotten to the core. The appraisement should be swept away and estates sold at the hammer.'[62]

When land was made available its price bore no resemblance to the real market value of land which was about £20 an acre in 1897. Land *en bloc* was sold by planters to fellow white land speculators who resold lots at 50 to 200 percent above the purchasing price.[63] Mr. Dowridge recalled that his father paid 400 dollars (£104) per acre to one of these speculators, just to secure a house spot. His father-in-law in St. Thomas paid 800 dollars per acre for agricultural land. It was clear to Mr. Daniel, as to others: 'The "fancy prices" paid for land in this country has been brought about in order to prevent a peasant proprietary body from rising in our midst.'[64] It was not surprising that there were only 8,500 freeholders possessing five acres or less in 1897.[65] The response of the Barbados government to the West India Royal Commission's recommendation that peasant proprietorship be encouraged was curt: 'the question of a peasant proprietorship need not trouble us in Barbados.'[66]

The technological rationalization of the industry was equally slow. Significant improvements were made in the field; for example artificial fertilizers valued at £665,897 were applied between 1887 to 1895;[67] and planting of new, more disease-resistant varieties of sugar cane replaced the disease-prone old 'Bourbon' variety. However, when compared to Trinidad and British Guiana, time stood still in Barbados as far as technological innovation in the sugar factories was concerned. Of the 440 estates in 1897, 99 estates manufactured sugar by steam while 341 still operated windmills.[68] This was hardly an improvement from 1884 when of the 485 estates, 90 operated steam factories and 395, windmills.[69] Another indicator of anachronistic technology was reflected in the fact that 432 or just over ninety-four percent of all plantations in 1897 produced muscovado, while eight (5,244 acres), or just five percent produced crystals.[70] Up to the early 1900s the 'boiling house' in use in Barbados was like a museum preserving past processes with its earthen floors 'sprinkled with marl...cobwebby in the corners...all very picturesque but grievously out of date.'[71]

Some estates, especially those owned by absentees, had made some technological improvements in the late nineteenth century. The estates of Thomas Daniel and Company, cut some costs through the shipping of sugar in bags.[72] Mr J. Gardiner Austin, a local

merchant, pointed out that at least a two shillings per ton advantage accrued from shipping in bags rather than in hogshead.[73] Of course this cost-cutting advantage was unavailable to the many estates still producing syrupy muscovado. Experiments conducted by the government's chemist and the superintendent of the botanical station, suggested that backward milling resulted in the loss of over 2000 pounds of sugar per acre, and only about 75 percent of sugar was recovered for every 100 tons of juice extracted.[74]

It had become apparent that very few options were left open for further cost-effectiveness. Wages were already at the 'starvation point'[75] and agrarian reforms did not seem to hold out hope for more saving. Paying for supplies in cash assisted in reducing costs on the estates of Thomas Daniel and Company, but that was not an option which could be afforded by most planters.[76] The way forward pointed to the need for improvements in the manufacture of sugar. This would have required the replacement of windmills with steam power and the creation of central factories. In St. Lucia and Trinidad central factories were reported to have reduced production costs by nearly 50 percent in the decade 1884-1894.[77] These factories were invariably the result of the sort of external capital investment and control that the Barbadian planter-merchant class eschewed.

A number of obstacles presented themselves in Barbados to the rationalization of sugar manufacture. Planters were unprepared to divorce completely the processes of production and manufacture for fear of that prices for sugar cane would be dictated by manufacturers.[78] In addition, it was considered that the prices offered by the promoters of central factories were below what was already being obtained, albeit through backward means.[79] The amalgamation of estates was a necessary concomitant to central factory operations, and the noncontiguous nature of land ownership in Barbados posed an obstacle.[80] Fear of the capitalists remained the one great obstacle which won for the Barbadian planters the reputation of 'stiffnecked obstructionists,'[81] immersed in an ethos of anachronistic paternalism.[82]

Population and White Power

Some white planter families succumbed to the declining fortunes in the industry but the white sector of the population remained firmly entrenched as the social, cultural, political and economic leaders of Barbados. In contrast to many of the British West Indies the island had a significant white population which, 'for generations looked upon Barbados

as their home.'[83] Nevertheless, the white population continued to decline numerically throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; ten percent of the population in 1871, this declined to seven percent by 1911. On the other hand, the black population continued to grow from 65.5 percent in 1871 to 68.8 percent in 1911, while the coloured (mixed) section remained stable at just over 24 percent of the population. (See Appendix 1). Demographic decline did not alter the socioeconomic dominance of the white elite as a guide to the island explained:

> The whites form the governing race in Barbados, nearly the entire wealth and business of the islands being in their hands, although they form at the present time but a small constantly decreasing fraction of the whole population of the island...[84]

This social status was underpinned by racial prejudice and class snobbery. Sturge and Harvey on the eve of emancipation observed that 'the prejudice against color is stronger in Barbados, than in any other colony',[85] and McLellan witnessed in the early 1900s how 'the wealthy white Barbadian has no end of colour prejudice.'[86]

All Barbadian whites were not wealthy or members of the elite. Some were the descendants of poor English, but they were largely poor Scottish and Irish descendants, who came voluntarily or as deportees to work as indentured labourers before the height of the sugar revolution and large scale African slavery.[87] During slavery many became members of the local militia and were allocated plots of land, others acquired property on their own but invariably it was the unproductive land not required for sugar production. Most of them settled on such land in St. Philip, St. John, St. Joseph, St. Andrew and St. Lucy. Those not employed in the militia continued to provide agricultural labour, fished, engaged in small scale farming, shopkeeping, petty trade, were artisans or depended on the poor rates. Virtually every visitor commented on their presence, seldom in positive terms. The attitude of the local white elite was not often dissimilar. These 'red legs', 'mean whites' or 'backra johnnies' as they were variously called, were often treated as a different 'race'. Even before slavery ended these poor whites were being displaced in skilled areas by blacks, against whom they also found it difficult to compete in the internal marketing system.

Beckles suggests that the white plantocracy did not perceive the presence of poor whites as an ideological problem in Barbadian society 'unless the integrity of the entire structure was endangered.'[88] The declining number of whites in the context of a society

in economic crisis necessitated the 'rehabilitation' and integration of more poor whites from the periphery of society into the mainstream of the social structure. This was not an entirely new exercise since as early as 1848 a scheme was proposed by the governor to assist poor whites to emigrate to other West Indian colonies.[89] Up to the mid-1870s, the parish vestries were supporting exclusive white schools and favoured whites when dispensing poor relief.[90]

The Victoria Emigration Society established in 1897 to assist women in financial difficult favoured white women. Of the 229 who emigrated with the assistance of the society, between 1897 and 1900, 179 were white and 50 were coloured.[91] Poor whites were stereotyped as people living in ignorant insularity which was said to account for their intense prejudice against blacks, captured in the quip: 'Backra Johnnie bite a pepper; swear to Gawd he bite a nigger.'[92] Upper-class whites exploited the racial tensions between blacks and poor whites, and by singling out the latter for special treatment, ensured that a loyal buffer would exist between white capital and the black masses and that the working class would remain divided along racial lines.

By the late nineteenth century many poor whites were enjoying a sponsored mobility, as they were favoured with employment in Bridgetown commerce and as plantation book-keepers and managers.[93] By 1913 an enquiry made by Governor Probyn showed that the 'Red Legs' did not require any further special assistance. They were by then dominant in plantation supervisory and managerial roles, clerical work in shops, recipients of a flow of funds from 'crowds' of their relatives who emigrated to North America, and many of the estates sold had been purchased by them.[94] Rev. W. G. Hutchinson, rector of St. Joseph Anglican Church believed that any further special emigration scheme for poor whites would undermine their buffering role in Barbados. He noted,

> Seeing that the black race has never proved itself capable of self government or advancement without leading, and how rapidly the white element is disappearing from this Island, I think it regrettable that these "Red Legs" should be leaving it as they are. There are more openings in the Island for them than ever before.[95]

It was the careful management of ambiguous class and race relations which helped to bolster white elite power. As McLellan observed: 'The social barriers go up with the shutters of the stores, and these colonists, who have been so "infernally" hearty and

agreeable to each other for eight or ten solid hours on end, suddenly become coldly distant.'[96]

Black working-class quest for moral economy

The black working class suffered most from the economic crisis. From about 1894 the wages of agricultural workers were reduced by 20 percent as a cost-cutting measure[97] and payment by task work replaced day rates by 1895, forcing labourers to work longer to achieve former pay levels. For instance, men employed in the boiling house were expected to work fourteen backbreaking hours per day to earn the handsome sum of 1s.6d.[98] Planters alleged that labourers were happy, reasonable and contented. Carrington acknowledged that if his labourers 'had been English labourers undoubtedly they would have struck, and they would have burned the whole place.'[99] Instead, there were claims of mutual understanding and workers reportedly said: 'well, we know, master, you are hard up, and you cannot do it, and we must have our wages cut down, and we must take the hard times with you.'[100] Another observer reported that the labourers 'have cheerfully accepted reduction.'[101] One expatriate in Barbados during the crisis of the 1890s wrote:

> there were no visible signs of a coming storm...the gardens and fields were alive with industrious and cheerful men and women. There were no anti-rent and labour demonstrations with banners and mottoes, nor gatherings of sullen and discontented workmen. The negro lives by the day and is easily satisfied; and he has none of that chronic dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, which breeds so much wickedness and misery among what we call "the masses" in our continental and highly civilized communities.[102]

Governor Hay reported that: 'the rate of wages has fallen about 20 percent...but the people as a whole are fairly contented and, speaking from my own experience, are quiet and law-abiding.'[103] Chief Justice Reeves wrote: 'it costs the labourer really very little to subsist, and he is very happy and contented (I am only stating the fact) if he earns enough to subsist from day to day.'[104] C. J. Lawrence, the Inspector of Police reported:

> The rates of wages paid at present may seem low, especially from an European standpoint, but I think it will be found that there are in reasonable proportion to the cost of the necessaries of life. The labourer in the West Indies requires fuel only for cooking; his working garb is a cotton shirt and

> trousers and a hat, his usual habitation is a wooden hut, and his food consists principally of roots grown in the Islands (yams and sweet potatoes), breadstuff brought from the United States of America, and rice, all of which are, happily plentiful and cheap.[105]

These racist justifications for black labour exploitation had long been exposed and refuted by the white liberal C. S. Salmon, but they nevertheless persisted into the twentieth century.[106] The planters, merchants and officials clearly attempted to claim the existence of what Green calls a 'painful symbiosis' between themselves and the masses. This was so often glaringly contradicted by workers as to expose these claims as nothing more than a hegemonic discourse. George Daniel, for example, debunked such arguments when he pointed out that quarrels and strikes ensued when wages were reduced, resulting in plantation managers having to resort to the courts to enforce labour contracts.[107] Carrington, had to admit that

> The Barbadian negroes are most civil as a rule, especially in daylight in Barbados, to us and to the managers, but you will see the same nigger goes down in a fortnight afterwards to Demerara- he will stand and look at the manager and whistle in his face, and "cheek" him in any kind of way.[108]

It was not so much a 'consensus' or a sense of symbiosis which prevented widespread labour unrest. Carrington could boast of the 'ample control' of the Barbados planter because 'there is such a lot of them...[blacks] they must behave themselves...that is why we get hold of them, and they know they may lose the ground.'[109] Despite the economic crisis planters knew that high population density, land monopolization and a 'located labourers' scheme gave them a large measure of 'control' over black labour. A mass exodus from plantation tenantries was hardly practical when so much of the land anywhere in the country was under planter control, and the possible impact on family dependents had to be considered. It was certainly in consideration of his wife and eight children that one man sought plantation employment that he might have rejected if he was alone:

> "Sugar!" exclaimed the tattered one in disgust. "why it hardly pays us even to cut the kyanes at all! Dem dat sh'u'd bring in money," he nodded towards the heap in the yard, "ain't payin', sir, ain't payin'"...A was neva an idle man, neva! but, ef say was only ma, a cu'd endure in de mean time."[110]

As has been said, officials and the planters were careful to emphasise consensus and contentment among the labouring class, hardly mentioning cases of protest. C. J. Lawrence, Inspector of Police, in his memorandum and evidence to the Royal Commissioners reported two major 'potato riots' which occurred in 1895 following the reduction of labourers' wages.[111] No ideological significance was attached to such 'riots', nor to cane fires, which, according to the Chief Justice, were set 'to hasten crop operations and thereby furnish employment or better wages to field labourers.'[112] As far as the official position was concerned such acts were devoid of ideological content. Potato 'riots' and cane fires were perceived only as 'gut reactions' to poor circumstances.

This kind of analysis has been sustained by Richardson who argues: 'People afflicted with hunger pangs themselves and responsible for their near-starving children were less ideologically motivated than they were inspired by more fundamental, short-term subsistence means.'[113] Furthermore, Richardson points to the fact that nocturnal 'rural food scavenging' and stealing was so common anyway, 'that the activity lacked an ideological class-based cause and was simply a reaction to hunger.'[114] After all, 'Hungry tenantry dwellers seeing their bolder neighbours advancing into an estate's potato fields would *naturally* join them.'[115] But, were potato raids 'very simply, a last resort among desperately hungry people''?[116]

Richardson's suggestion that potato raids were more visceral than cerebral is at odds with some of the excellent analyses of crowd behaviour by social and cultural historians for over three decades;[117] his more recent pieces demonstrate his belated conversion.[118] The hardships of high prices, reduced wages and material deprivation brought on by the depression of the late nineteenth century, provide the general context for potato riots but each one possessed its own local peculiarity, therefore, the *general* material context cannot account for the *significance* of each particular raid, although patterns can be discerned.

The major potato riots or raids occurred as follows: in May 1881 at Mangrove plantation in St. Philip; at Newton plantation, Christ Church in April 1890; at Boscobelle, St. Peter and at Clermont (Wanstead) St. James in January and February 1895 respectively; and at Bowmanston plantation in St. John on 1 July 1898. It is obvious that the available sources of these raids - official accounts and the press - must be treated with great caution. Whereas the newspapers gave extended accounts of the depositions by witnesses for the prosecution, the arguments brought by those accused in their own defence were rarely

detailed. Similarly, official accounts prepared by the Inspector of Police were concerned with explaining police action to contain the crisis and the version of events volunteered by prosecuting witnesses. Moreover, interpretations were subject to propagandist use. In virtually every case the government was at pains to blame *agents provocateurs,* or the natural excitability of blacks, while denying opposing claims by some liberals that the people were starving. Both positions negated the autonomous ideological consciousness of blacks.

Some 'rioters' or raiders may have decided 'spontaneously', as Richardson argues, to join their bolder neighbours during the progress of a raid. However most raids showed evidence of preplanning and organization, and securing 'eleventh-hour' support was often envisaged. On Wednesday 30 January 1895 at about seven or eight in the evening, two contingents, one of fifty, the other three hundred, converged upon the 240-acres Boscobelle estate, on the border of St. Andrew and St. Peter, owned by the absentee, James Sanderson. This was no spur-of-the-moment raid for the day before George Morris asked thirteen-year-old Harvey to blow a shell during the proposed potato raid which was to be executed at Boscobelle.[119] Neither was it larceny by stealth since shells and whistles were blown, and others shouted in chorus; 'Hip-hip, Federation!' as they descended upon the potato fields equipped with bags and iron stakes.[120] The sound of the conch shells combined with shouts of 'Federation' were unmistakable signals, not only to those privy to the advanced plans but also to others, that something important was amiss. This was all reminiscent of the Confederation Riots of April 1876, when members of the black working classes rallied to the blowing of conch shells and raided plantation fields, claiming to be authorized by the Governor, John Pope-Hennessy.[121] 'Federation' had become rooted firmly in the social vocabulary of Barbadians, and its connotations were clear.[122]

At least fourteen 'ringleaders' of the Boscobelle raid, seven men and seven women, were arrested; but this news did not seem to deter another crowd from raiding the potato field of the small Wanstead estate bordering St. Michael and St. James ten days later. On Saturday 9 February 1895 at around nine in the evening, an estimated 400 persons accompanied by the blowing of a shell or horn, advanced towards the field shouting, 'Federation come again!'[123] One of the 'ringleaders', Marcus Weeks, said that 'the Governor had authorised them to take the potatoes.'[124] This was obviously not true, but should probably be interpreted not simply as an attempt to mislead others. Clearly, the political climate was unlike that of 1876, and the actions of the current Governor could in

no way be construed to be against the entrenched planter class.

However, the invocation of the authority of the representative of the Crown demonstrates a search for a legitimacy which transcended local authority. The willingness to defy watchmen, planters and even the police confirms this view. In the case of the Wanstead rioters, their boast of not having a drop of 'coward blood' proved hollow as virtually all scampered away when the police arrived. That is, all except Philip Young and two others who continued defiantly to finish the task of digging the potatoes in the presence of the lawmen.[125] In the case of the Boscobelle riots, shots from the watchman had caused a temporary retreat, only to be followed by a regrouping, upon which he was showered in a volley of stones by the crowd.[126] Ten persons, five men and five women, were eventually arrested and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment for their role in the Wanstead riot. When asked what caused the raids of 1895, the Inspector of Police responded: 'They were said to be due to dissatisfaction felt by the labourers at the reduction of wages, and took place directly after the reductions were made.'[127] Again, the intellectual initiative of the people was rejected by Governor Hay who characterised them as '...people... easily led astray, [and] have been tools of some evilly disposed persons living in what are here styled the "free villages"...'[128] Nonetheless, it was an implicit acknowledgement that the movement had some form of planning behind it, and that leadership could indeed emerge from among the villagers. The contrast of rioting 'free villagers' with located labourers 'contented with their lot' is hardly surprising. It is true that the latter under more 'ample control' may have been more cautious in participating in such raids. There is no doubt however, that evidence of riotous 'free villagers' provided ready-made propaganda to support the anti-peasant policy of government. It is difficult to identify rioters only as free villagers, given the fact that in every raid few persons were arrested, and these tended to be the ones identified as leaders or who resisted the police. The total composition of a raiding crowd need not exclude located tenants, although it was unlikely for them to have assumed high profiles on such occasions.

The execution of a potato raid as a movement for moral economy was again demonstrated three years later at Bowmanston plantation in St. John when 'several hundred' persons raided two and a half acres of potatoes on Friday night, 1 July 1898. This was possibly the biggest potato raid of the late nineteenth century. Again the raiders were said not to include labourers residing on Bowmanston, but residents of the nearbouring free village at the Cross Roads who worked on the adjoining Pool Estate.[129]

On this occasion both material deprivation and rational social protest were excluded as reasonable causes. Instead, the villages were characterised as, 'a somewhat turbulent lot and prone to give trouble' who had engaged in a 'put up job.'[130] The investigations and subsequent reports by the Inspector of Police and the Colonial Secretary did not reveal any reasonable explanation for this massive raid which the Governor characterised as a 'slight disturbance.'

The Bowmanston raid, like the major ones before it, showed clear evidence of forethought and was likewise underpinned by a profound sense of moral and economic justice. The sergeant and party of police who were dispatched from the station in the parish were met with 'showers of stones' and a request had to be made to the Inspector of Police to send assistance from Bridgetown to help settle the situation.[131] The official statements did not report that about a month before, Outram, the manager of Bowmanston, had opened a couple fields of potatoes for which the people negotiated and agreed to pay a penny per hole.[132] However, before they could commence digging an urgent message came from George Sealy, attorney of the estate, stating that considering the impact of the war, the potatoes could not be allowed to sell at that price. Mr. Sealy did not say what price would be reasonable and the potatoes remained in the ground week after week until they were being cut up to feed the estate's mules.[133] It was this kind of insensitivity and injustice on the part of some sections of the planter class which deepened the black working classes' own sense of justice, and transcended that order which the police were sworn to uphold. Therefore, in these circumstances, policemen were defied and fought.

An earlier illustration of this can be drawn from the potato raids which occurred at Mangrove plantation in St. Philip during May 1881. On the night of Friday 13 May 1881 100 holes of potatoes were dug and the police arrested Griffith, not without difficulty, as a crowd of several hundred converged on the scene.[134] This was promptly followed two nights later by a raid involving about 150 persons on the fields of the same plantation. They chased away the watchman, stoned the police patrolling the area, and were not brought under control until the Inspector General of Police led a patrol of thirty armed men to help quell the situation.[135]

The raiding of plantation potato fields illustrates at once the unjust monopolization of economic resources by the white planter class, as well as black working class resentment and rejection of such economic injustice. The key role of free villagers in raids may not necessarily be evidence of a well-defined anti-plantation ideology, but rather, an admission

of the power which the plantation exercised even over their own lives. Ironically, it was perhaps the free villagers who were more conscious of the contradiction of their own status in the face of their vulnerability to the power of the plantation. Unlike the located labourers, they had no contractual right or priority to estate employment they enjoyed no 'customary rights' to pasturage and gleanings from the estates; their holdings were usually the rocky and unproductive 'rab' land which estates were willing to sell, and consequently they were unable to provide independent subsistence. Village artisans resorted to plantation work during the cane harvest season to supplement their earnings, and success as an artisan in the rural areas necessitated plantation contracts for cart making, cooperage, building-maintenance and the like.

When the 1895 potato raids occurred Governor Hay was sanguine that the government's proposed public works programme for building new wharf walls and the laying of water pipes in the rural areas would provide alternative employment *after* the sugar crop was over.[136] Public debt was increased by £375,000 to finance government's acquisition of the two water companies.[137] Government policy dictated that the Water Company was not to compete for labour with the plantation during the cane harvest season.[138] It was the implicit pursuit of such a policy by the Rural Water Company which resulted in a potato raid at Newton plantation, Christ Church, on Wednesday 2 April 1890. This followed the announcement by the Company that work was being suspended until further notice. According to the report in the *Times*, the labourers were aware that plantation labour was scarce that year, Newton being no exception. Convinced that the manager at Newton was responsible for their dismissal as a ploy to secure estate labour, about 100 labourers armed with sticks, and in a few cases firearms, threatened employees of the Water Company.[139] They proceeded to a field at Newton and dug up several holes of potatoes, 'threatening to do greater damage.'[140]

Evidently, such actions cannot be interpreted as 'starvation raids' but labour protests and demonstrations against the economic injustice of the plantation system. Up to the day that work was suspended, the water works labourers laying pipes near Newton had been receiving higher wages than the average agricultural labourer. When the thirteen men and nine women arrested after the Bowmanston riots in 1898, were being taken to prison, Mr Nicholls, overseer of the nearby Bowmanston Pumping Station said, 'why there are four men among the lot who were employed by me at 9 [shillings] a week during the last week on the Pumping Works.'[141] Significantly the potato riots were during 'croptime,' the

Bowmanston raids occurring when the sugar harvest was 'only just gathered.'[142] Unlike the later post-harvest 'hard times', during the 'crop' opportunities existed for large-scale employment in the sugar sector. Indeed, in 1890 the year of the Newton raid, demand for labour to complete the harvest outstripped the available supply,[143] and has already been noted, the two raids in 1895 were precipitated by wage reductions, not absolute impecuniosity.

Potato riots as responses of labour against capital were not translated into national pan-working class action to dismantle the crippled plantation-based capitalism. This may be explained by the absence of any serious fissure between the Executive and the plantocratic Assembly as in the case of 1876 Confederation crisis. The mercantile, planter and colonial official classes were all united in the view that sugar should remain 'king' and there was no need to politicise blacks. However, in February 1902, some four years after the Royal Commissioners had made their report and recommendations to the British government and no financial aid was yet forthcoming, the Bridgetown mercantile establishment decided not to make further advances to the sugar industry unless prices improved.[144] Panic-stricken planters agreed to prepare a 'monster petition' to be signed by all classes for forwarding to the Colonial Office. The decision was scrapped, especially after the Governor warned: 'I am not sure of the wisdom of obtaining the signatures or marks of the Agricultural labourers. Past experience has shown that they do not understand the drift of things.'[145]

The denial of black working class participation to represent their interest in the national political debate over the economic crisis meant that, as Moore notes for Guyana, alternative measures such as riots were 'modes of political action to defend or promote those interests.'[146] These forms of social protest were restricted to the 'community' level, reflecting in part a neo-feudal paternalism which survived slavery. As one writer noted, 'the wealthy Barbados landowner loves his "nigger" in a lofty, distant way...not unlike the old-time planter of the Southern States.'[147] However, as Genovese notes for Southern slave society in America, paternalism had 'radically different interpretations' for the oppressor and the oppressed.[148]

Paternalism had been translated into a means of exacting 'customary rights' and privileges. Labourers in post-emancipation Barbados expected regular work and the privilege of sharing in the produce of the plantations; to be able to glean the potato or yam fields to have access to fodder for their small stock and to have cane juice and sugar during

the harvest season. During 1876, the year of the confederation riots, Governor Hennessy had reported that in addition to wage reductions, the estates of Messrs Daniel, had stopped 'the long established custom of allowing the labourers to consume cane juice and syrup during the crop time'[149] More estates reneged on these customary rights as the economic crisis deepened in the 1890s. Henri Field informed the Royal Commission:

> many of the privileges which they [agricultural labourers] enjoyed in the past years have been withdrawn from them at the present time. Allowances of syrup, broken yams, gleanings of potatoes, fodder for cattle- a privilege of agistment for livestock- have been withdrawn; all of which tend to accentuate the labourers' present unsatisfactory position.[150]

So-called 'privileges' constituted the subsidization of already inadequate and irregular wages and denial of access to the 'pickings' from the plantation fields, or an inability to get fodder, threatened the survivalist strategies of the labouring class. The withdrawal or reduction of these customary benefits compounded the injury already experienced by agricultural labourers. But, as has been suggested, attempts to redress such injury were within the context of those paternalistic and neo-feudal relations which were severely tested as plantation production rationalized. As in slavery, the rural agro-proletariat identified with 'community' which the plantation itself helped to define. Genovese observes that it was this type of affinity which reduced identification in broad class terms.[151] Protests remained local in nature, directed at plantations with which village or tenantry communities had some association, instead of against the entire structure of the plantation society.

Although forms of working-class protests were limited, some, like the burning of sugar cane fields, were more frequent and potentially more devastating than the periodic potato raids. Yet the planters, officials and the judiciary colluded to ensure that incendiarism would not become a vehicle for the focus of a working class ideology of resistance. They were satisfied to accept cane fires as the means whereby the labourers hastened the cane harvest, thus providing employment.[152] Governor Hodgson expressed horror at the large number of cane fires which occurred daily across the island.[153] All could not have been the result of accidents from smoking, or from the burning embers which occasionally fell from the train. Preliminary investigations by Hodgson suggested that many cane fires were set by workers as a grievance for,

> the curtailment of some privilege - as for example drinking molasses in the factory when at work - or at fines considered to be excessive or altogether uncalled for, or again to an attempt to reduce the remuneration for cane cutting.[154]

Table 2.2. Cane Fires and Police Prosecutions, 1891-1901.

Year	Fires	Acres Burnt	Arrests	Court Cases	Convicted	Enquiries
1891	170	555	5	3	2	-
1892	86	294	2	-	-	-
1893	71	189	1	1	1	-
1894	73	153	3	1	1	-
1895	142	377	3	1	-	-
1896	68	142	-	-	-	-
1897	105	253	1	-	-	-
1898	118	302	2	1	-	-
1899	147	498	3	1	-	-
1900	243	715	8	8	4	1
1901	189	715	6	5	3	27

Source: CO 28/254 encl no 4, 21 May 1901.

Magistrates were empowered by the 1879 Fire Enquiry Act to conduct enquiries into the causes of incendiarism but refused to convene any during the 1890s. The reason was:

> That if persistent enquiries were held the labouring population would get it into their heads that they had only to set fire to a Cane Field to ensure their having an opportunity afforded them of making known their real or supposed grievances.[155]

This crude strategy to contain the articulation of working class grievances did not win Governor Hodgson's support. Moreover, the absentee planter interest in Britain, alarmed

at the spate of fires which were occurring in Barbados, and which threatened the insurance coverage for crops, petitioned Chamberlain to enquire into this state of affairs.[156] Hodgson directed the police magistrates to have cane fires thoroughly investigated.[157] In consequence there were twenty-seven enquiries made in 1901 rising to sixty-eight in 1902 and to seventy eight in 1904.[158]

Despite this renewed assault on incendiarism and the optimism of Hodgson, the government and planters failed to arrest the situation. The solidarity among the black working class seemed impenetrable and the government acknowledged that 'the conspiracy of silence with which the crime of incendiarism is hedged around has to be broken down.'[159] The extremely seductive reward of £50 ($240) was offered to anyone offering information leading to a conviction, but the government had to admit, 'such information is never forthcoming.'[160] One conviction resulted from sixty-six cases which were made in 1907. The following year twenty-four rewards were offered but only two convictions were achieved McLellan observed that:

> All along the highways are notices that handsome rewards will be paid for information of this kind, but beyond providing work for the printers the notices are unproductive of results, and the big rewards remain unpaid.[161]

A letter to the editor of the *West Indian* in 1883 characterised incendiaries as the products of 'ignorance, want of training, and a savage disposition', although conceding that the 'excessive power' of landowners was a cause.[162] In the 1890s and early 1900s the labouring-class forms of protest were still denied rationality and legitimacy. Some were willing to admit, grudgingly, that a particular manager may be to blame for labour protests due to poor managerial and human relations. Very few dared to argue for a total dismantlement of the plantation system. The black working classes could not expect to find solidarity from the black and coloured middle class. An editorial in the *Times*, voice of the black and coloured middle class, viewed the Boscobelle potato raid 'with disfavour and shame.'[163] The solution it envisaged was a 'more even-tempered and sympathetic dealing with their labourers - poor and ignorant as most of them are - and warning those labourers that riots are neither lawful nor right, and can in no way whatsoever better their position in life.'[164]

Even as the crisis of the plantation economy was being placed at the feet of Her Majesty's Royal Commission in February 1897, the voices of agricultural labourers were

muted while planters and officials raised their harmonised chorus of planter-labourer consensus, of 'contented' blacks stoically accepting wage reductions and having no desire for land. Actually, no more than two members of the agro-proletariat gave evidence at the Bridgetown-based sittings of the Royal Commission. One was Mr. Craigwell who also did artisan work as a cooper, and the other, Mr. Brereton, was a labourer at Cottage Plantation, St. George for nearly 40 years but also owned a quarter of an acre of land inherited from his grandparents.[165] Representation of working class views was presented by an urban-based joint committee of the artisans and labourers.[166] One of the representatives, a journalist, pointed out:

> Many labourers on estates would gladly have availed themselves of the opportunity of coming in person before your Commission, but the everlasting thraldom in which they are held on many estates would mean no opportunity of labour again.[167]

Internal migration

Since emancipation there had been a steady flow of persons from the rural parishes of the island to the urban and peri-urban areas of St. Michael but the economic crisis provided further impetus for this movement. This urban drift was facilitated by the subdivision of unprofitable estates into villages or urban tenantries. Greater growth was being experienced outside the statutory limits of Bridgetown, in the suburban areas of St. Michael. The population of this parish grew from 17.2 percent of the entire population in 1881 to 19.3 percent in 1891, and 23.7 percent by 1911.[168] While the population of Bridgetown proper declined by 20.7 percent between 1891 and 1911, the parish of St. Michael increased in population by 15.8 percent in the same period.[169]

Bridgetown and its suburbs, as visitors observed, constituted 'a place of striking contrasts, a region of surprises.'[170] Poverty, evidenced by uninterrupted rows of 'dingy-looking cottages' on both sides of the road for hundreds of yards, contrasted with the 'pretty villas' along 'several long avenues shaded by rows of palms'[171] which suggested 'happy families in easy circumstances.'[172] Crowded urban and suburban settlements offered little opportunity for independent peasant production, although some, even in these cramped conditions, found space to keep a small garden or raise small stock.[173] Others with obvious inadequate capital attempted nonetheless to pursue petty shopkeeping.

McLellan so vividly captures and describes this activity:

> Bridgetown is fertile in the production of shops of nondescript description, shops with empty shelves save for a few small bundles of chipped firewood, a dozen bottles of aerated drinks, a mysterious collection of empty bottles, some greasy-looking fish-cakes, a box of cigarettes and such sundries, all to the value of about ten dollars; a little more in some instances, a good deal less in the majority of cases.[174]

Bridgetown, as a major entrepot and transhipment port attracted many waterfront workers. Ships approaching Carlisle Bay were besieged by lightermen, bum-boat operators and laundrywomen who jostled each other like 'the flies in a sugar house'[175] to offer their various services. Seamen, shipwrights, carpenters, tailors, domestics, seamstresses and cabmen all converged on the city with the hope of establishing their trade. Women hucksters made their way from rural parishes before sunrise laden with various condiments, as well as fruit and vegetables grown on their small holdings or on land rented from the plantations.[176]

The trek to town was not the success which many expected. The rural to urban movement in the 1880s and 1890s served only to exacerbate many of the labour problems in Bridgetown which had been apparent since the mid-nineteenth century. One problem was that the ranks of the skilled and semiskilled expanded more rapidly than the market for such skills. The census of 1881 showed a slight decline in agricultural labour and an increase in mechanics, artisans and seamstresses.[177] The Poor Relief Commission had in the 1870s observed that carpenters, coopers, masons, tailors and shoemakers had experienced reduced wages because those trades 'were so overcrowded that continuous occupation cannot be obtained by those who follow them.'[178] Two decades later a deepened economic crisis had ensured that conditions were no better. Charles Alleyne, a shopkeeper-speculator remembered being begged by crowds, including coopers, carpenters and masons, for work - 'any kind of employment, no matter how menial or arduous.'[179]

The hardship faced by many blacks was reflected in evident mendicancy. Insensitive commissioners pictured Bridgetown as a haven of charity wherein beggars were said to 'ply a lucrative trade.'[180] Visitors who travelled to the countryside, or to a seaside resort like Bathsheba, could not escape the stark reality of children and adults begging for small change.[181] The poor, unemployed and destitute were criminalized by the state as 'idlers' and 'vagrants. Marston, a Bridgetown watchmaker argued that 'to describe the

applicants of work as loafers and idlers was a shame.'[182] 'Able bodied men swarmed the city of Bridgetown, its wharves, or any other place where work was likely to be found.'[183] On one occasion more than 500 persons turned up at the pier head to fill 200 vacancies, and 40 policemen had to be called to maintain order.[184]

One of the obvious reason for urban gravitation was the opportunity to emigrate.[185] For most of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century period the attitude of the plantocracy wavered between hostility and ambivalence towards formulating a positive and consistent emigration policy, in spite of the inordinately dense population. Nevertheless, black Barbadians emigrated in large numbers. This was clearly evidenced by the stabilization in the rate of population growth by 1881 and its decline between 1891 and 1911.

Table 2.3. Average Annual Population Growth, 1861-1911

Intercensal Period	Gain(+) or Loss(-)	Intercensal Growth
1861 - 1871	+ 9,319	.61
1871 - 1881	+ 9,858	.61
1881 - 1891	+10,854	.63
1891 - 1911	-10,323	-0.57

Source: Barbados Censuses, 1861 - 1921.

High infant mortality was partly responsible, but the chief cause for the decline in growth was emigration. The major destinations for Barbadian emigrants since emancipation were British Guiana and Trinidad, although significant numbers also travelled to other islands. For example, in 1871 there were 834 Barbadians in Tobago, 877 in Grenada, 824 in St. Lucia and 1,273 in St. Vincent.[186] Barbadians migrated in search of better wages and conditions of labour, and in the hope of procuring land. The average pay for a first class labourer in Barbados was 20 cents to 25 cents per day, compared with 25 cents to 40 cents in Trinidad, and as high as 40 cents to 80 cents per day in British Guiana.[187]

Barbadian emigration rarely meant a permanent rejection of the land of their birth, rather, a temporary response to unbearable conditions at home. Planters in other territories soon realized this as Barbadian migrants refused to enter contractual arrangements, or broke them with impunity. Barbadians tended to provide temporary or seasonal labour in places

like British Guiana[188] and Trinidad[189] or to opt for better positions like cane farming, domestic service, skilled work or the police force.[190]

Planters' fears that internal and external migration would rob the estates of their valuable cheap labour were not realized immediately. The number employed in agriculture declined gradually between 1871 to 1891, but roughly a quarter of the population remained employed on the plantations. It was during the period 1891 to 1921 that a sharp drop was experienced in male labour, which partly reflected massive male emigration.

Table 2.4. The Agricultural Labour Force, 1871-1921

Year	Males	% *	Females	% *	Total	% of Population
1871	18,947	44.8	23,323	55.1	42,270	26.1
1881	18,426	43.6	23,804	56.3	42,230	24.6
1891	18,502	43.9	24,434	56.9	42,936	23.5
1911	14,216	39.2	22,017	60.7	36,233	21.0
1921	12,387	37.8	20,341	62.1	32,728	20.9

*Percentage of Agricultural Labour Force only.
Source: Barbados Censuses, 1871-1921.

The pre-1890s emigration was not disastrous to the sugar industry and therefore the planter-controlled legislature was more receptive to the discussion of government about sponsored emigration schemes. This was especially so given that the economic depression showed no immediate signs of easing, and the potential for social instability had to be considered. Consequently, in October 1893, a Commission on Emigration was established to explore the prospects for permanent emigration by Barbadians to other West Indian territories. The Colonial Secretary in 1894, commented on the abnormal increase in the death rate to 35 per 1000 in typical social Darwinistic terms:

> It means that nature is exerting herself in a very unmistakable way; that the fight for life is getting sharper and that when hard times come, and their shadow is at our doors, the difficulties will become accentuated. No doubt in theory the weak will disappear before the strong.[191]

It was however conceded that migration seemed to provide a natural safety valve.

Although an Emigration Committee reported that there were no suitable lands for Barbadians to settle in Trinidad, Tobago, Dominica, St. Lucia or St. Vincent.[192] Nevertheless, the Emigration Commission recommended that government should facilitate emigration through the establishment of a central emigration office, setting up of branch agencies in other islands, providing government financial aid to settle families on agricultural land and improving inter-island transportation and facilities for sending remittances back to Barbados. These proposals met with the full support of the Secretary of State for the Colonies,[193] but the measures failed to pass the Legislative Council as the extraordinarily difficult years of 1894 and 1895 had passed. The prevailing view was, 'while labour is plentiful and food cheap and abundant' the scheme was no longer urgent.[194] F.B. Archer's memorandum to the Royal Commission summed up the thinking of the plantocracy:

> If emigration is carried out to any extent it must have the effect of raising the price of labour. The neighbouring islands want our best agricultural labourers, the class we cannot afford to part with. The roughs and the scum of the population we will gladly get rid of.[195]

Fenwick, speaking on behalf of the Trinidad Planters' Association, acknowledged that Barbados had 'labour to spare' but Trinidad estates were unable to secure any good agricultural labourers from there.[196] Population policy (or lack of it) constituted a major plank in fostering a pool of surplus labour in Barbados which was cheap and controllable.

Barbadians emigrated anyway; many sought their fortunes in foreign territories like Colon, Venezuela, Peru, St. Croix, Brazil, and Surinam. The largest wave of emigration was to the Panama Canal Zone after 1904 when work was restarted there by the United States. Between 1881 and 1889, during the previous phase of that project, an estimated 2000 Barbadians had emigrated there.[197] Newton estimates that during the second wave between 1904 and 1914, recruiting agents in Bridgetown were responsible for sending 19,000 workers to Panama with a possible 40,000 going on their own initiative.[198] Richardson has made a more slightly conservative estimate of 45,000 overall.[199] Intending emigrants urged their fellow agricultural labourers to, 'hit de manager in de head, and come along wid we!'[200] Table 2.5. illustrates the amounts received from Panama up to 1914 which could be accounted for by officials.

It was the financial impact of Panama remittances along with the £80,000 grant from the imperial exchequer which saved Barbados from social disaster. The imperial

grant, along with a Colonial Bank loan, formed the nucleus of funds for a Sugar Industry Agricultural Bank which disbursed loans under a series of Plantation-in-Aid Acts. By 1904, 108 estates out of 411 had borrowed £252,987, repaid £173,835, and were owing, £72,877.[201] The news of the decision to abolish bounties, made at the Brussels Convention in September 1903, came as an added bonus to West Indian planters.

Table. 2.5. Panama Money in Barbados, 1906 - 1914.

Year	No. of Returnees	Declared at Port £	Postal Orders	Amount Posted £	Total £
1906	3,501	18,800	3,613	7,509	26,309
1907	3,525	26,291	19,092	46,160	72,451
1908	2,376	21,864	26,360	63,210	85,074
1909	1,552	14,820	31,179	66,272	81,092
1910	2,048	20,604	31,059	62,280	82,884
1911	1,559	14,032	24,968	51,009	65,041
1912	1,387	12,773	28,394	56,042	68,815
1913	1,910	19,342	31,851	63,816	83,158
1914	1,759	16,449	22,619	39,586	56,035
Tls.	19,617	164,975	219,135	455,884	620,859

Source: Compiled from; Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 144 and 157.

These events did not end the economic depression. Nevertheless, there were clear signs suggesting that probably the worst was over. The colonial secretary took note 'that the colony appears to be gradually recovering from the depression resulting from its recent reverses.'[202] Estates that had been previously reappraised and put up for sale in the Court of Chancery as many as eight times in the 1890s,[203] were now selling at, or above, the appraised values. Forster Alleyne, the correspondent for the West India Committee,

reported the sale of four estates over a fortnight which had previously been in chancery for many years. His assessment suggested, that this was 'the direct consequences of the abolition of bounties, giving some promise of some stability in the market.'[204]

The reports of estate sales in the West India Committee Circulars indicate that many of these purchases were by already established planters, who were consolidating their holdings. Others were merchant-creditors who were acquiring plantations themselves. The fact that the land market received a boost meant that blacks were not likely to acquire cheap land nor were they acquiring the prime agricultural land. Most of the subdivided estates between 1900 and 1920 were in the parishes of St. Michael and St. James.[205] Many black women were acquiring lots as a result of remittances from partners. The compiler or the 1911 census reported:

> That land should have been purchased by so many women of the labouring class is not surprising as it is known that emigrants to Panama have not been forgetful of those left behind, and have remitted money, sufficient in many cases, to enable them to pay the necessary deposits and obtain possession of small holdings. I have no doubt that the opportunity thus afforded of acquiring land on easy terms was sufficiently alluring to cause quite a large number of such persons to settle in St. James...[206]

Diversification

The Royal Commission of 1897 had recommended economic diversification. As a means of facilitating this process the Imperial Department of Agriculture was established and based in Barbados in 1898-9. In 1901 a resuscitated arrowroot starch-producing industry was reported in St. Andrew, St. Joseph and St. John, where some 336 acres of the crop was in production by part-time peasants.[207] The Imperial Department of Agriculture, in conjunction with the botanical station, conducted crop trials of sweet potatoes, bananas, yams, fruits and cotton. The United Kingdom became a testing market for a number of small-scale produce from Barbados. For instance, between 1904 and 1908, 2,447 barrels of tamarind were exported there;[208] 13,137 bunches of bananas in 1910 valued at £2,652; and 144 crates of mangoes in 1912.[209] It was the cotton industry, resuscitated in 1901, which contributed most to economic diversification.[210] In 1903, the 550 pounds produced fetched £28 but by 1908, production had peaked to 985,256 pounds securing £61,578. However, both quantity and revenue from cotton began to decline once more. Barbados

did achieve significant diversification as Appendix 5 indicates. Whereas in 1896 sugar and its by-products constituted 97 percent of the total value of its exports, by 1908-09 it had fallen to 83.2 percent. Indeed, dependence on sugar between 1896 and 1908 in Barbados, declined to a greater extent than Antigua and British Guiana, two other major sugar monocultures.

A thrust in promoting winter and health tourism largely by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, offered an opportunity for broadening the economic base. [211] As part of a West Indian initiative in 1908, the Barbados government agreed to pay £60 to advertise the island in *The Times* (of London).[212] In 1913 Barbados welcomed an estimated 4,355 tourists from ten ships, in comparison to 2,741 from seven ships the previous year.[213]

In spite of some creative attempts to diversify the economic base of Barbados, after 1897, the island remained heavily dependent on an ailing enterprise, which did not recover substantially until, World War I. The depression had served to expose the vulnerability of the Barbadian planter elite to economic forces generated far beyond the waters of the Caribbean Sea. Nevertheless, the white planter elite refused to be dislodged by foreign capitalists or by local blacks. Instead, local planters and merchants allied themselves for mutual survival and engaged in the sponsored mobility of poor whites as a buffer and with little to fear from the non-white middle class. This agro-commercial bourgeoisie was able to articulate its own narrow interest masquerading as a proto-nationalism, while firmly wedded to the Empire and clamouring for their share of the imperial crumbs. Black working-class Barbadians understood their exploitation and used the few means available to them to make their distinctive points of protest. Yet, the hegemony of the agro-commercial bourgeoisie seemed secured as summed up by Dr. Joshua Francis Clarke.

> Through all the hardships the labourer endures he assumes a pleasant demeanour, and which is mistaken by his employer for comfort and happiness, *e.g.*, he is often taken before the magistrate of his parish and punished for breach of contract, or for taking a few points of sugar-cane from the plantation on which he labours, and yet he returns to the very plantation and resumes his work peaceful and quiet.[214]

Undoubtedly, imperial aid, new enterprises, and Panama remittances assisted in

diffusing some of the tensions in Barbadian society. More money amongst blacks enabled many of them to fulfil their dream of a piece of Barbados. The black working classes not only struggled for a relatively autonomous existence on 'buy land' in their free villages but also increasingly took responsibility for their own socio-cultural institutions especially those charged with cushioning the impact of economic marginality.

Chapter 2

1. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, hereafter, WIRC, para. 209.

2. Paton, *Down the Islands*, 41.

3. PP 1884-85 (c.4583) LII, Barbados Blue Book Report for 1884, p.83.

4. PP 1898 (c.8655) L, WIRC, app. A, p. 96.

5. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, p. 201.

6. For an analysis of this scheme which existed with some modification until 1937, see, Bentley Gibbs, 'The Establishment of a Tenantry System in Barbados,' in Woodville Marshall, ed., *Emancipation II: Aspects of the Post-slavery Experience in Barbados*, (Bridgetown: Dept. of History, UWI and National Cultural Foundation, 1987), 23-45.

7. See Richard A. Lobdell, 'Pattern of Investment and Sources of Credit in the British West Indian Sugar Industry, 1838-97,' *Journal of Caribbean History*, 4 (May 1972), 31-53.

8. R.W. Beachey, *The British West Indies Sugar Industry in the Late 19th Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), 6.

9. Claude Levy, *Emancipation, Sugar, and Federalism: Barbados and the West Indies, 1833-1876*, (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1980), 110.

10. Bill Albert and Adrian Graves, eds., *Crisis and Change in the International Sugar Economy, 1860-1914*, (Norwich (UK): ISC Press, 1984), 110.

11. Beachey, *British West Indies*, 127.

12. Karch,'Growth of the Corporate Economy'; *idem,* 'The role of the Barbados Mutual Life Assurance During the Late Nineteenth Century', in, K.O. Laurence, ed., *A Selection of Papers presented at the Twelfth Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians* (1980); 'From the Plantocracy to B.S. &. T.'

13. McLellan, *Barbados Life*, 48.

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15. PP 1898 (c. 8656) L, WIRC, app. C, pt.1, p. 195-96.

16. Ibid., p. 200; PP 1898 (c.8706) LXXXV, Report on the Customs of the United Kingdom from 1800 to 1897, p.222.

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18. PP 1884-85 (c.4583) LII, Barbados Blue Book Report for 1884, pp. 75-6.

19. Ibid.

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21. PP 1895 (c. 7847-1) LXIX, Barbados Blue Book Report for 1894, pp. 27-8; PP 1898 (c. 8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, paras. 64-70.

22. PP 1898 (c.8656) L, WIRC, para. 2903.

23. For a discussion of the West Indian - North American trade in this period, see Selwyn H. H. Carrington, 'The United States and Canada: The Struggle for the West Indian Trade,' *Social and Economic Studies* 37: 1 (1988): 69-105.

24. See Appendix 3 for an extended table.

25. Paton, *Down the Islands*, 143.

26. Beachey, *British West Indies*, 139-40.

27. Canon Meyrick, 'Barbados, and the West Indian Question', *West Indian Quarterly* 3 (1887-88), 44.

28. Patrick Bryan, *The Jamaican People, 1880-1902: Race, Class and Social Control*, (London: Macmillan, 1991), 3.

29. Paton *Down the Islands*, 183.

30. Meyrick, 'Barbados,' 44.

31. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app.C, pt. 3, para. 274.

32. PP 1892 (c.6680) Correspondence Relative to the Government of the United States in regard to Trade between certain of Her Majesty's West Indian Colonies and the United States.

33. PP 1892 (c.6563.-26) LV, Barbados Annual Blue Book Report for 1891, p. 3.

34. C. S. Salmon, *Capital and Labour in the West Indies* (London: Civil Service Publishing, 1883), 14-5, 18-20; Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 3, 12; Moore, *Race, Power and Social Segmentation*, 114-17; Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*, 23-4, 28-9, 146-7.

35. For the period, 1902-1914, see Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 141; Carrington, 'The United States and Canada.'

36. For details of the confederation crisis and its resolution, see; Bruce Hamilton, *Barbados and the Confederation Question, 1871-1885*, (London: 1956).

37. CO 321/51, sub-encls nos 2 & 3 in Robinson to the Earl of Kimberley, 29 April 1882, also printed in CO 31/72 (MCA 1882), doc. 3.

38. PP 1884-85 (c.4583) LII, Barbados Blue Book Report for 1884, p. 79

39. Ibid., p. 80.

40. *West Indian*, 17 March 1882. For a brief biographical note on Reeves see, Ch. 7, 'Cricket and Cultural Hegemony in Barbados.'

41. MCA 1882, doc. 3, Robinson to Lord Kimberley, 29 April 1882 (copy), p. 5.

42. Ibid.

43. See Barbados Blue Book Reports, 1886, 1887, 1888 and 1889 respectively. PP (c.4842) XLV, p.26; (c.52939) LVII, p. 80; (c.5294-16) LXXII, p. 8; (c.5620-20) LIV, p. 7.

44. *Times*, Sat., 22 April 1893.

45. For some examples of the impact of 'family politics' at the parochial and national level, see, Phillips, 'Politics in Barbados,' 99-100, 123.

46. CO 28/258, Hodgson to Chamberlain 14 Aug 1902 Confidential.

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49. PP (c.8656) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 1, paras. 2798-99, p 104; see also, Cecelia A. Karch, 'The Role of the Barbados Mutual Life Assurance.'

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51. Ibid., p. 231.

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53. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app.C, pt.3, para. 444.

54. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C pt. 3, sec. (182),1 b, p. 151.

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56. Debate in the House of Assembly, November 1898, cited in, Phillips, 'Politics in Barbados,' 204.

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58. Ibid., p. 20.

59. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C pt. 3, Memorandum of J. Henri Field (237), p. 217.

60. Ibid., para. 913, p. 191.

61. Ibid., memorandum of J. Henri Field, (237), p. 217.

62. Ibid., para. 943.

63. Ibid., para. 875, p.188

64. Ibid., Memorandum (239) B, p. 220.

65. Ibid., para. 212, p. 160.

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82. Beachey, *British West Indies*, 126.

83. PP 1898 (c.8655) L, WIRC, p. 210.

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95. CO 28/281, encl no 3 W. G. Hutchinson to the Colonial Secretary, 11/6/13, in Probyn to Harcourt 17 June 1913.

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99. PP 1898 (c.8656) L, WIRC, para. 2073.

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123. 'Court of Grand Sessions, Tuesday 9 April 1895' *Times*, 13 April 1895.

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126. *Times,* Wed., 10 April 1895.

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131. Ibid., encl no 2, Inspector of Police to the Colonial Secretary.

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CHAPTER 3

THRIFT, MUTUAL AID AND WORKING-CLASS ECONOMIC CULTURE

Until the late 1870s the approach to the relief of poverty by the Barbados government was *ad hoc* at best.[1] Government established a Commission on Poor Relief in August 1875, which was set the task of investigating the causes of poverty, to review the current mechanisms for its relief and to make recommendations for future implementation. The fifteen-member Commission under the chairmanship of John Mitchinson, Bishop of the Anglican Church, carried out its mandate between 1875 and 1877. The Confederation riots of 1876 served as a vivid reminder that social reform was urgent. Moreover, the Colonial Office had insisted that a greater measure of social responsibility towards the needs of the poor and indigent was expected, should the island expect to avoid Crown Colony rule.[2]

The Poor Relief Commission conceded that poor economic conditions contributed to poverty. Nevertheless, members of the working class were considered primarily culpable for their state because of their 'general preference for concubinage', 'prevalence of bastardy', 'general unthriftiness' and a prodigality expressed in the 'love of litigation', 'fondness of display', and 'gay attire'.[3] The Commissioners felt that 'one of the best modes of helping the poor is to facilitate self-help'.[4] Poor relief was not their only concern. Imperial and colonial officials had for long associated pecuniary self-discipline with labour regularity and social stability. There was however a sustained tension between working-class socioeconomic independence and white paternalistic dependence, especially when the former expressed itself through institutions politically independent of the latter. The debate over the Savings Bank as an institution first brought these tensions to light.

Saving and Credit

It was almost thirty years after Lord Bathurst had encouraged colonial governments to legislate for the establishment of savings banks that the Barbados Savings Bank Act was passed in 1852. It came only after protracted debate, during which landed interests had argued that the scheme would make people, 'independent and idle.'[5] The passage of the

Branch Savings Bank Act of 1881 aimed at bringing the civilizing force of thrift within reach of rural workers. The Blue Book of 1881 indicates three branches outside of Bridgetown, one each in the rural parishes of St. Philip and St. Andrew, and one in the urban centre of the north, Speightstown. By 1884 6,231 depositors had saved £38,960 in the Barbados Savings Bank which the acting Colonel Secretary boasted had become:

> One of the most successful and promising institutions of the Colony...which little by little, has established itself in the confidence and affections of the labouring and industrial classes for whose benefit it was mainly instituted. Viewed at first with dislike and suspicion by a class and race naturally careless and improvident and who were ever disposed to look upon the inducements offered to them to save their earnings as some malevolent design on the part of the Government to appropriate their money, it is now a most popular institution....[6]

However, the closure of all the rural branches by 1886, and of the Speightstown branch at the end of 1887, was at odds with the assertions by colonial officials. In a letter to the *Herald*, 'Vox', pointed out that official statements, including the Governor's speech referring to the patronage of the Savings Bank, were misleading.[7] The letter observed that the increase in deposits possibly came from remittances from emigrants to Panama or elsewhere, or from small investors seeking safer investment than with the merchants and planters.[8] That the majority of depositors were artisans, tradesmen, hawkers, clerks, seamstresses, schoolmasters and domestic servants, and *not* agricultural workers, was confirmed to be true by the newspaper editor a few years later.[9]

In 1900 debates about the possible resuscitation of rural branches provided an opportunity to reflect on possible reasons for the aversion of the rural working classes to branch operations. It was possible that the apparent preference for the Bridgetown operation was motivated by a desire to keep knowledge of personal affairs from prying neighbours, plantation owners, and above all the magistrates who had previously served as branch managers.[10] It appeared to be a conflict of office for magistrates who dispensed fines for violations of the law to be entrusted with the financial information of depositors. As W. H. Greaves asked: 'Now what labouring man would deposit money in a Savings Bank where the magistrate of the district is the manager?'[11] The Bridgetown office offered greater anonymity, but as Marston argued, 'for the labourer to reach it, travelling expenses and loss by way of wages would cost more than a shilling to deposit a shilling.'[12]

Table 3.1. Savings Bank's Clients, 1903-05

Occupation	Depositors 1903-04	Depositors 1904-05
Professionals	509	510
Public Officers	447	460
Planters	790	807
Merchants	214	205
Shopkeepers	446	468
Clerks	1,139	1,180
Teachers	257	267
Soldiers	45	43
Police, Firemen, etc.	249	261
Seamen	234	239
Seamstress	674	732
Artisans	2,265	2,341
Domestics	2,009	2,341
Agricultural & Other Labourers	1,434	1,436
Hawkers	454	500
Friendly Societies, etc.	316	324
No Occupation	1,762	1,872
Unenumerated	962	963
TOTAL	14,212	14,773

Source: PP 1904 (cd. 2238-9), p. 16 and PP 1905 (cd. 2684-12), p. 15, Barbados Annual Reports for 1903-04 and 1904-05 respectively.

Richardson's analysis of the Savings Bank Registers for 1915-1917 led him to the conclusion that 'the government bank, was supported mainly by the black working class',[13] but it is important to emphasise that these were in the main urban traders and

artisans. Giving attention to absolute numbers may somehow cloud the fact that the trends observed in 1886 by 'Vox' continued throughout the early 1900s, as indicated in Table 3.1. The Bank attracted a significant cross section of depositors, including, planters, merchants professionals, civil servants, urban petty traders and the better paid skilled workers. By 1901 the Savings Bank was reported to have attracted the:

> well to do commercial community who simply lodge their money ...because they get better terms and better security than they get at the Colonial Bank, evading the rules of the [Savings] Bank by using the names of relatives of all degrees[14]

With an agricultural labour force of some 40,000, 1,434 depositors was not a particularly high figure for that category of worker. Of course thousands of workers were *indirect* clients through the insurance investments of their friendly societies. These societies invested £4,108 in the bank in 1903, £9,542 in 1907 and £11,061 in 1916.[15] These sums were insurance deposits and not savings accounts in a conventional sense, although by the turn of the century members expected a cash-back 'bonus', a quasi-savings dividend, at year-end. For example in December 1909, £10,400 of the £30,626 withdrawn from the Savings Bank in that month was by friendly societies to pay bonuses to their members.[16] Richardson discovered that the closure of accounts was almost as frequent as the opening of accounts,[17] which like the bonus payments of societies indicates the short to medium-term needs which working-class saving could only fulfil.

Some plantations extended small loans to labourers, as in the case of Applewhaites Plantation which provided twenty-two labourers with $170.43 in lumber in 1913.[18] Such credit could tie labourers in peonage-like relations with the plantations as in the case of the 'truck' system in which significant slices of labourers' wages were deducted for grocery credit extended to them by shops in which plantation book-keepers had vested interests.[19]

Small wages and chronic casualization made the working class especially vulnerable to 'debt traps,' and their reluctance to commit themselves to long-term major projects requiring equally long term indebtedness, reflected their social reality. The apparent absence of such long-term economic plans, was translated into a stereotype of the lazy African, as illustrated by the afrophobic chaplain of the armed forces in Barbados, J. H. Sutton Moxly.

> Care for the future there is -as might be expected- little or none. Sixpence

> in the present is more valuable to the average black man than five shillings a month hence, and thus he is often prey to the money-lender....he is unwilling to deprive himself of the most trivial pleasure of to-day in order to secure an advantage no matter how great, to-morrow![20]

The real extent of widespread indebtedness to moneylenders is difficult to ascertain. The Pawnbroking Act was considered a 'dead letter' in 1902. The licence fee of $24 was said to be exorbitant and hardly recoupable unless about one hundred dollars per month in loans could be disbursed.[21] No significant business could be attracted with an 'exorbitant commission' of three pence on each shilling loaned, although there were a few cases reported of persons desperate enough to resort to illegal brokers.[22]

Longer-term credit was virtually exclusive to freeholders some of whom were black artisans and shopkeepers who paid 'a very high price' for their land, on a down payment basis with the balance by instalments.[23] The influx of Panama money in the 1900s contributed to a burgeoning class of black shopkeepers who were outside the direct plantation control, although dependence on the white wholesalers in Bridgetown remained a fact of life.[24] Richardson argues that the increasing circulation of money from remittances led to a reduced patronage and dependence on credit from rural shopkeepers, who lost business to the larger Bridgetown operations that offered better prices.[25] A member of the House of Assembly acknowledged the 'great competition' faced by shopkeepers from the larger stores for which the public was said to have a 'predilection'.[26] Nevertheless, the small rural shop did not lose entirely its importance in the rural economy, as a provider of small-scale grocery credit. The fact that plantation wages were paid late on Saturdays forced many labourers to resort to the village shop.[27] Intermittent remittances would still have necessitated the extension of credit in the interim if small village shops were to retain their patrons.

Informal Survivalist Strategies

Since slavery many blacks had pursued small scale crop rearing and animal husbandry on the marginal plantation lands. Barbadian labourers gained a reputation for their great interest in raising small stock. Quintin Hog discovered to his horror that the Barbadians he took to Demerara and settled in a special village paid more attention to rearing their own pigs than working on his plantation.[28] The idea of the ever-thrifty

stock-rearing Barbadian became a stereotype in British Guiana as McLellan indicates:

> The Barbadian in Demerara will keep a goat if he has no fodder for it and is forced to graze it at night by the roadside while his less thrifty neighbours are asleep. There are Barbadians who work in Georgetown but reside far outside the limits of the city in order to yield to their pig-rearing inclinations.[29]

'Engaging', or securing orders for meat from neighbours was also a widespread practice in Barbados, especially ahead of annual festivities. Speculating was common as economic marginality sharpened awareness of petty money-making opportunities. Shopkeepers for instance were well placed in the village gossip network which they used to good advantage:

> ...news comes to him in all manner of ways. In some wonderful way he learns that a man living five miles off has a pig or goat to sell, and simultaneously he becomes alive to the still more interesting fact that another man, whose place of abode is five miles off in the opposite direction, wants a pig or goat to buy.[30]

The extended family network was also a key feature of the economic survival of working people. Children played an important role as labourers to contribute to the 'family wage' and were often 'dispersed' among relatives or friends with the hope of better life prospects.[31] Family members living in rural areas with closer access to agro-products journeyed to town to share these with their urban relations with some expectation of tangible reciprocity. The commentary of 'Lizzie and Joe' on this relationship is interesting:

> ... Yuh notis dat wenebah yuh cuntry/ fambly dung/ Deh alwuz kyah back twice as much as' wah dey bring to tung,' Deh brings a few putatos an puhhaps uh/ yam or two-/ Dat en nutn like de presuns deh does/ expect from you.[32]

The Meeting/Turn

The 'meeting' or 'turn,' (now more popularly termed 'the meeting-turn'), was a very popular informal saving-credit arrangement in which a wide cross section of working people participated. The 1875-77 Poor Relief Commission reported:

> There are other provident or quasi-provident associations among the working people themselves of a more questionable character. We refer to the system

> of class clubs or turns, which is described as being very popular among the agricultural labourers and mechanics. A number of persons, women as well as men, contribute a weekly amount not less than six pence, more commonly a shilling, and sometimes, among the better class of mechanics, as much as five shillings. Each member of the club receives in his turn the entire weekly amount.[33]

Described by anthropologists as a 'rotating credit association', Ardener defines it as: 'An association formed upon a core of participants who agree to make regular contributions to a fund which is given in whole or in part, to each contributor in rotation.'[34] Such associations were found in Africa, China, India and the West Indies. Herskovits and Bascom have argued that these arrangements in the British West Indies, referred to as the 'box' in Antigua, 'partners' in Jamaica and 'susu' in Trinidad are of Yoruban origin.[35] In Trinidad and British Guiana the indentured Indians brought a similar institution called the 'chitti' with them from India.[36]

Meeting-turns possessed no written rules, did not convene meetings, hold elections or make returns, but were nonetheless organized and conducted according to identifiable structural features and sanctions. Meeting-turns were organized among family members, friends, members of a particular neighbourhood, or those of a common occupational class. Each meeting consisted of a number of 'throwers', with one of them acting as 'banker' who received all funds and paid the total amount to the assigned recipient at the end of a week. Although not allocated a fee, it was customary for an ex-gratia contribution, or what in Antigua was called a 'short,'[37] to be given to the banker by the 'hand's' recipient.[38]

The Poor Law Commissioners considered the meeting turn to be 'a very popular but very rascally system, under which many of our people are victimized every month by clever scamps who organize them.'[39]

> There are no means of enforcing payment of arrears, or of compelling payment on the part of those who have already reaped their advantage and consequently have nothing more to gain and every incentive to be dishonest.[40]

The popularity, resilience and survival of meeting-turns do not confirm the Commissioners' criticisms. 'Scamps' certainly existed but legal redress was not beyond the reach of aggrieved participants. Joseph Mitchell won a judgment against Ada Barrow of Nelson Street, Bridgetown for seven shillings.[41] Barrow kept a shilling-a-week meeting-turn with twelve people 'throwing', but Mitchell got only five shillings instead of twelve shillings

when his 'turn' came around.[42]

In addition to legal redress certain conventions were applied to guarantee the integrity of the turns. Bankers came from among the 'respectable' members of the community who held property.[43] The *Agricultural Reporter* in 1888 stated that the many meeting-turns organized among agricultural labourers on the plantations, were 'generally under the guidance of the superintendent of the estate, or that of some leading man or woman amongst the people...'[44] The call by the Agricultural Reporter, like the Commission a decade ago, for more state oversight of such institutions was prompted partly by the increasing preference for leaders from the working class in place of plantation personnel. Throwers were also expected to be persons of good repute drawn from within the community. Since it was not usually possible to join a meeting before the completion of a cycle, time was available to investigate the *bona fides* of prospective throwers. Moreover, the community gossip network provided a deterrent to any would-be defaulting banker or thrower.

The form of pecuniary self-discipline which meeting-turns presented was criticised as 'a somewhat clumsy method on the part of contributors to force themselves into thriftiness and to practise compulsory saving.'[45] This rejection of working class ingenuity failed to recognise the flexibility and functionality in the working class community. Throwers could often negotiate the most appropriate week to receive their 'turn' or 'hand', and this would usually coincide with the payment of a periodic debt or obligation. Presumably a turn could be taken ahead of schedule in a case of emergency provided the banker and fellow throwers were agreeable. This institution therefore combined functions of saving, quasi-insurance and credit.[46]

Clifford Geertz has postulated that rotating credit associations are transient vehicles of small scale capital accumulation in peasant economies, destined to be replaced by more 'rational' institutions in the transition from peasant to more trade-oriented societies.[47] His argument is that these informal saving arrangements would eventually be 'self-liquidating, being replaced ultimately by banks, co-operatives, and other economically more rational types of credit institutions.'[48] Geertz sees the rotating credit association as a means of providing small scale capital for petty trading, as does Katzin in her study of the role of 'partners' among female Jamaican hucksters.

An alternative view is that this type of association was founded as 'a socioeconomic adaptation to a condition of poverty and that this condition forces poor people to make

alternative adaptations outside of the national institutional matrix in order to ensure their survival.[49] Barrow argues that meeting-turns 'fit a need for those who live in hand-to-mouth circumstances...'[50] One would hardly wish to argue against the fact that the deep depression of the 1890s in Barbados must have been a stimulus to the 'swarms' of meeting-turns in evidence.[51] However, to reduce this form of mutuality to a socioeconomic function of economic marginality is to imply its pathology and lack of cultural integrity. Economic survival and the maximization of material advantage are perhaps fundamental motives in human organization, but cannot explain *every aspect* of economic culture.

Similarly, the Geertzian thesis imprisons rotating credit associations in the cage of Eurocentric social theory. Ardener argues perceptively that classifications such as 'rational', 'irrational', 'economic', 'non-economic' and 'traditionalistic', are perhaps, worthless.[52] Members of meeting-turns, susus, partners, and boxes have simultaneously patronized banks, friendly societies and other formal economic institutions, not only in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but even today in the diaspora of the 'developed' capitalist countries. This would suggest that working class economic culture while influenced profoundly by immediate socioeconomic conditions, was also shaped by cultural codes and forms which did not always pass the European capitalist test of 'rationally' maximizing profit and advantage as a study of friendly societies will confirm.

Friendly Societies

Friendly societies were formally organized mutual-aid institutions primarily concerned with providing their membership with cash insurance in the event of sickness and death. In Barbados, such societies were introduced by the Anglican Church on the eve of emancipation, and organized along similar lines to those in Britain. Two commenced operations in the rural parish of St. John in October 1832[53] and by 1834 two more were founded in Bridgetown in connection with St. Mary's Anglican Church.[54] Until about the 1870s most of the friendly societies operated under clerical oversight. The societies 'not only teach frugal habits, but they keep a strict watch on their[black labouring class] moral and religious character...' observed J. W. Spencer, Police Magistrate for rural St. Michael in 1840.[55] St. Mary's friendly societies admitted only married persons[56] and The United Bridgetown Friendly Society, based at Bethel Wesleyan-Methodist Church, excluded all those found guilty of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, gambling and swearing, amongst

other sins.[57]

By the time of the sitting of the Poor Relief Commission in 1875-77, friendly societies were increasing secularized which prompted calls for official control of their operations. The Commission regretted that:

> the Legislature has not interfered for the protection of the credulous and unwary by insisting on a proper registration of all Provident and Benefit Societies,with due enquiry into their solvency and management, and proper publicity given to their accounts.[58]

After an extended national debate inextricably connected with the consideration of a Central Poor Law, the legislature passed the first Friendly and Benevolent Society Act in 1880. Both the Poor Law and Friendly Society Acts did not go as far as the Governor and some other reformers would have liked.[59] Registration of friendly societies was not compulsory, but members of registered societies were afforded legal redress should there be the misappropriation of their funds. Seven or more persons could collaborate in the formation of a society. As a measure to secure the establishment and operation of such societies along officially sanctioned lines, draft rules had to be submitted to the Registrar of Friendly Societies for approval, along with tables of contributions certified by a qualified actuary, or in line with those approved by the Chief Registrar in England.[60]

There was a wide divide between the lofty demands and goals of the legislation and the response of the friendly societies; they largely ignored this non-compulsory inducement to submit to official paternalistic oversight.

Table 3.2. Friendly Societies -Rate of Registration, 1880-1890.

Years:	1880	1882	1883	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
New Socs:	2	3	2	0	2	3	15	44	31

Source: Prepared from: MCA 1890-91, doc. 4, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-Year, July-Dec. 1890.

In 1891, Mr. J. Gittens Knight, Registrar of Friendly Societies, reported that over the first eight years the average annual registration rate was two, and rose significantly only from 1888. (See Table 3.2.) The increased registration of societies from 1888 may have

reflected an attempt by some societies to prevent a more stringent Friendly Society Act which would make official involvement in the movement more intrusive.

The Friendly Societies Act which required compulsory registration was passed anyway in 1891.[61] The white ruling class had nothing to fear during the 1890s from black working-class economic cooperation, crippled by the depression. The Registrar was pleasantly surprised at the resilience of the societies following the twenty percent cut in labourers' wages in 1894:

> Considering the short wages earned by the labouring class during the last six months and the consequent straightened circumstances, the fact that no societies were dissolved during that time is, I think a pleasing feature in the history of our Friendly Societies, since their members are drawn chiefly, if not entirely from those classes.[62]

A year later they were 'writhing under the pressure of what are commonly called 'hard times''; the prognosis was that 'within a not very long period several of them will be crushed out of existence.'[63] The devastating hurricane of 10 September 1898 struck a further blow as subscriptions dried up on account of job losses, and funds were depleted through extending aid to members and rebuilding lodges.[64] The St. Ambrose [Anglican] Friendly Society in Bridgetown disbursed no less than eighteen loans ranging from $2.96 to $6.68 and totalling $83. 52 (£17. 8).[65] This could not have been an inconsequential sum for a society of working people under severe economic stricture. There was numerical growth recorded, from 154 in 1898 to 164 in 1900, but this growth was illusory. An investigation by the Registrar in early 1901 discovered that of the eighty-two societies scrutinized, fifty-six had ceased to operate and fourteen were moribund.[66]

Membership and Distribution

It is difficult to assess adequately the distribution of friendly societies throughout the country before compulsory registration in 1891 as the *Blue Book*s statistics indicate only the existence of societies known to parochial officials. The Poor Relief Commission of 1875-77 noted of the nineteen societies known to be operating then, the majority were in Bridgetown.[67] Of the thirty-three societies which registered in 1891, ten or 31.2 percent were in the urban parish of St.Michael alone. The other parishes each accounted for between 6 to 18 percent each of the registered operations.[68] Table 3.3 shows that the

pattern remained largely the same during the early 1900s.

Table 3.3. Distribution of Friendly Society, 1906, 1907, 1914.

Parishes	1906 (%)	1907 (%)	1914 (%)
St. Michael	57 (42)	78 (40)	102 (35.9)
Christ Church	4 (3)	9 (4.5)	28 (9.8)
St. Philip	16 (11.7)	18 (9.4)	33 (11.6)
St. George	6 (4.5)	11 (5.7)	22 (7.7)
St. Thomas	6 (4.5)	7 (3.6)	7 (2.5)
St. John	4 (3)	9 (4.5)	14 (4.9)
St. Joseph	5 (3.6)	8 (4)	15 (5.3)
St. Andrew	5 (3.6)	5 (2)	7 (2.5)
St. Peter	11 (8)	14 (7.3)	14 (4.9)
St. Lucy	11 (8)	17 (8.9)	21 (7.3)
St. James	11 (8)	15 (7.8)	21 (7.3)
TOTALS	136	191	284

Source: Data and calculations from Reports of the Registrar.

Membership of the friendly societies was predominantly black working class. St. Michael, with consistently the highest percentage of societies, no doubt drew many of its members from the urban, non-agricultural occupations such as artisans, seamen, dock workers, cab men, hawkers and petty commercial clerks. This suggestion must however be made cautiously since according to the census of 1911, 190 agricultural labourers lived in Bridgetown proper, and a further 2,973 in the rest of St. Michael.[69] In 1914 there were still twenty-four sugar plantations operating in St. Michael, consisting of 5,808 acres.[70]

Some societies limited their membership to a particular occupational class and these tended to be among the skilled working class and lower middle classes. The Fisherman's Mutual Aid for example, was organized in June 1890 and operated until May, 1902.[71] The Mechanic Artisan and Benevolent (1884), the Elementary Teachers' Association (1886), United Stevedore Branch (1889), Bridgetown Universal Porters Union (1892), the

Shipwrights Provident Union (1899) and the Seamen's Benevolent, all catered for special groups of workers, and were the first proto-trade unions in the island. Others, like the Sceptre of love, brought together mechanics, seamstresses, and those said to be of 'a better class', so that when this society closed in 1893 it was said to be due to the lack of enthusiasm rather than financial difficulties.[72] The Tradesmen Institute (1911) also opened its doors to 'others of a decent class' even if they were not mechanics and handicraftsmen.[73]

Few of these specialist upper working or lower middle class societies, with the exception of the Elementary Teachers Association, seemed to have had long operations. One possible explanation may have been the downward mobility which skilled artisans experienced in Barbados as elsewhere in the Caribbean in this period.[74] Elementary male teachers and assistants became part of 'a steady stream of Emigration' in search of better pay in the early 1900s.[75] It was the common distress of the agro-proletariat, the 'aristocracy of labour', and the lower middle class which facilitated mutuality among them.

Women in the Friendly Society Movement

From the inception of organized friendly societies in Barbados women were accepted into membership. This is not surprising given the long involvement of black women as labourers and marketeers. With many male partners having to resort to migration as the only viable option for material improvement, a large percentage of black working class Barbadian women were heads of their own households. Nevertheless, as part of its 'civilizing' agenda, the church which fostered the early societies insisted that societies be sex-segregated.

Segregation and female subordination were stubborn features of the movement even with its secularization. Even the female societies were often fostered by men *for* women, with a few men present in the management structure to guide the 'weaker sex'. For instance, the Lady of the Night Friendly Society associated with St. Matthias Anglican Church was a female society opened to a limited number of men.[76] Albertine Marshall was its 'lady president', but all meetings were to be co-presided with Joseph Codrington. Moreover, the secretary, treasurer and trustees were all men.[77] The Bright Light Friendly Society, open to both sexes, was presided over by Annie Gertrude Brathwaite. Clara Waith chaired the committee of management, but again the treasurer and trustees were

men.[78] Women could not always be restricted to these quasi-honorary positions. The Empress of India, a female friendly society registered in 1888 with 411 members,[79] was the largest female society registered between 1880 and 1914. It operated for eighteen years and still had about 60 members when it wound up, after its treasurer, Mary Bonnett, allegedly absconded with $61 (£12.14s), more than half of its total funds.[80]

Virtually nothing is known about the internal politics of other societies in which women predominated. Whether other women held positions of trusteeship or the office of treasurer, as Mary Bonnett did for the Empress, cannot be ascertained in the absence of such records. The extent to which some societies may have reflected women's own sense of self-determination can only be imagined. From the returns of the *Barbados Blue Books,* one can safely conclude that few societies of ladies survived as long as the Empress of India. The Ladies' United Provident (1889), the Ladies' Excelsior (1891) and the Culloden Sisterhood (1895) all ceased operation within ten years.

The apparent collapse of women-only societies may have partly reflected the fact that women had made some strides within the mainstream of the movement. Some surviving evidence indicates clearly that women were numerically dominant in late nineteenth-century societies, and were among the most consisitent contributors. The St. George's Friendly Society, for example, consisted of a membership of over three women to each man. Between 1895 and 1900, the number of men averaged twenty-seven compared to an average of ninety-nine women.[81] Women were also the very life of the St. Ambrose Friendly Society between 1884 and 1925.[82] This clearly underscores the extent of the economic autonomy of many back working-class women. This is so poignantly illustrated by a letter from one husband who belatedly discovered his wife's friendly society affairs.

> Sir I am riteng to you with a Heart of love as a christian Brother sir my wife careline Layne she has ben Dead November gone 1911 and I now Have the Privalege of riteing to you: coming cross the card I understand she was in saint ambrose society and I want you sir to see into This matter for me to Help me if there is anything for me I will be glad for it from the debt she leave me in awaiteing me down... (sic)[83]

By participating in mutual-aid arrangements women provided some prospects for tempering their vulnerability in a male-dominated society. In the 1890s a woman's daily wage as an agricultural labourer was about four to eight pence, compared to eight to ten

pence for men. When task work became universal in about 1894, some women took a whole week to earn ten pence 'farming' weeds.[84] Female teachers, appointed after June 1898 in the elementary schools, found themselves receiving about three-quarters of the salary and fees of their male colleagues.[85]

One reason why the large friendly societies in England had objected to female membership was based on a perception of women as medical liabilities. One benefit exclusive to women was the accouchement, 'lying-in' or maternity payment. Stillbirths and the death of mothers during childbirth was an ever-present possibility in this period. It was not uncommon for the funeral benefit to follow on the heels of the accouchement payment. Take the case of Rose Prescod for example, in February 1894 she received a childbirth payment of 8s.4d and exactly nine months later the same amount was paid to her for the burial of a child. In February 1896 she received 8s.6d for another childbirth and an equal amount *the very same day* to bury the child. She was more fortunate with her two subsequent births in December 1896 and December 1908.[86] It was the stark reality of these experiences felt so intimately by women which prompted them to struggle to be represented adequately in the movement.

Leadership and Political Culture

The emergence of a politics of self-determination within benevolent institutions, on the back of economic mutuality, was a source of persistent displeasure by the ruling planter-merchant. This was a blow to the paternalistic hegemony which had traditionally been exercised by the plantocracy and its trusted agents like the clergy. As has been pointed out before, the Poor Relief Commission engaged in more than its fair share of slander as leaders were called 'clever scamps.' After over four decades of the heavy hands of the clergy, the reduction in the number of societies to nineteen by the mid 1870s was attributed to 'mismanagement', 'irregularity of payments' and 'the selfishness of members'.[87] J. Y. Edghill, minister of the Moravian Church, disassociated himself from this general censure:

> I object to the verdict pronounced in the Recommendations against all existing Friendly and Benevolent Organizations. Because some of such societies have failed on account of the unfitness of their managers, I do not think that therefore all of them should be denounced.[88]

The *Agricultural Reporter* was consistent in its crusade for tighter controls over the leadership of all benevolent societies. In 1888 it led the campaign for the compulsory registration of societies, fixed places of operations with conspicuous name signs, and the empowerment of the registrar to make surprise visits. In summary, what the newspaper wanted the societies' officers to know was, 'that the eye of the Executive, through the Registrar was continually upon them.'[89] Again in 1900 the *Agricultural Reporter* expressed its dissatisfaction with the institutions that were no longer under clergy control or other trusted agents.

> But Societies of the new type, - i.e. those that owed their existence to spontaneous efforts of persons of the labouring classes, and not the initiative of a clergyman or some one else higher in the social scale than the labourer-lacked that assurance of integrity which contributed to the stability of those of the old type.[90]

These 'old types' were firmly under clergy control thus guaranteeing a strict socio-political conservatism. The rule of the Redwar Church Friendly Society at St. Paul's Anglican which stipulated that 'the President (shall at all times be the vicar of St. Paul's)',[91] was typical of all those run by churches.[92] The Poor Law Inspector's Report for St. Philip was met with indignation by the *Times* in late 1889 because the report praised the society run by the parish church while characterising the independent, urban St. Michael societies as 'bubbles' led by dishonest men. 'Church Societies' wrote the editor, 'cannot do much; they are handicapped by Vicars... We indignantly repudiate the unfounded remarks by the POOR LAW INSPECTOR.' [93]

The reaction of the *Times* reflected the position of the urban-based coloured and black middle class, for whom friendly societies and secret lodges had become arenas to demonstrate their own capacity for leadership and self-determination. Approximately six months before the *Times* editorial on the Poor Law Inspector's Report, the *Hand of Justice Society* had convened a meeting of presidents to adopt a plan to establish a *Central Council of Representatives* for self-regulation.[94] This was at the very time that the *Agricultural Reporter* was urging stricter government control. One correspondent to the *Times* went as far as to suggest that the friendly society movement should give support to a candidate who could represent their interest in the House of Assembly.[95] In 1886, when a mutual benefit society was being organised for Bridgetown clerks (many of whom were enfranchised by the Franchise Extension Act a couple years before), the editor of the *Taxpayer* stated that

> the promoters having once learned the knack of organization will, perhaps, be able to infuse into the breasts of their compeers an interest in the workings of our Representative Chambers, and a taste for local politics which must of necessity work a change in the hitherto sleepy modes of election.[96]

The political structure of the 'new' societies meant that they were no more 'subscriber democracies' than those dominated previously by the clergy. Monopolization of the key positions of management by an elite corp of officers, characterised friendly society organization.[97] For example, the El Dorado (Juvenile and Adult) Friendly Society based at Bibby's lane, St. Michael, stipulated 'that brethren E. Jordan, H. F. Forde and J. F. Clarke, M.D. as organisers of the society be permanent in their offices.'[98] Concerning its eight founder members, the Expedite Friendly Society ruled that they 'shall not be removed from this office, unless they violate any of the laws or rules of the society.'[99]

The presence of a literate upper working class or lower middle class leadership in possession of property provided both the administrative skills for running a formal organization, but also a guarantee that the financial integrity would remain intact. After all, those with a stake in the community were considered least likely to abscond with funds than the lowest section of the working class living hand-to-mouth. 'Respectable' leadership not only brought some approbation on a society's operation, but leaders were conscious that any financial impropriety could cost them their standing in society.

This fact in itself does not explain why many societies had officers-for-life. The long tenures in many nineteenth-century associations were viewed as evidence of stability, but many societies exceeded convention by approving rules creating permanent tenure and 'constitutional dictatorships.' The *Times* in 1892 lamented that because the local middle class opted for membership in the secret orders, the local societies were denied the 'higher intelligence and better judgment of the middle classes.' [100] The 'intervention of higher intelligence' advocated by the *Times* was already largely in practice and the monopolization of office by educated leaders meant that the 'rough' working class had to be satisfied to be led.

In the wake of Panama remittances from 1904, the improvement in working-class fortunes provided a platform for the lower middle classes, especially elementary school teachers, to put their organizational skills in high gear. The Inspectors of elementary schools in 1906 observed:

In the large number of Friendly Societies which have been organised recently, some of our schoolmasters find employment and remuneration as Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers etc. There could be no objection to this, if such employment of their time were kept within reasonable limits, so as not to interfere with the time which they owe to the public as salaried Teachers, and not to involve, on their part so much work at night, as to render them physically unequal to efficient duty in their schools during the day time....We know that they hold office in more than one Society: their appearance is that of men over-worked, yet their schools do not show that the work is done there.[101]

G. T. Morrison, headmaster of St. Matthias Boys' School, was one of those whose nocturnal duties increased as he was the assistant secretary of Dayrell's Road, secretary of Schimdt Gate and treasurer of the Ladies of the Night Friendly Societies, [102] yet he was still awarded a monetary prize for the highest percentage of passes in the annual examination and adjudged 'one of the best teachers in the Service' on retirement after thirty-six years.[103] He and headmasters such as Cummins, Roberts and Deane (Table 3.4) gained tremendous stature from their chosen professions and as community leaders.

Table 3.4. Cummins, Roberts and Deane and Barbados Benevolent Societies, 1880-1914.

Society	**Cummins**	**Roberts**	**Deane**
Arcade	Secretary	Trustee	Treasurer
Spooner's Hill	Chairman	Trustee	Treasurer
Unique Benevolent	President	Secretary	Trustee
Roebuck Moravian	Trustee	Founder	--------
Elementary Teachers Asn.	Management Com.	Treasurer	likely member
Eclipse	Secretary	--------	--------
Go-A-Head	Secretary	--------	--------
Klondyke	Trustee	--------	--------
Court Diamond (AOF)	--------	Office unknown	--------
Thistle 1014 S. Masonic	R. W. Master	Founder & R.W.Master	Member

-------- Involvement not established.

Source: Friendly Society Rules and Savings Bank Ledgers in BDA; GLSRBs, Edinburgh.

The trio of Robert Montgomery Cummins, Fitzgerald Clairmonte Roberts and Alfred Conrad Deane, were all prominent headteachers in Moravian elementary schools, lay workers and good friends who were involved in the management of some of the largest friendly societies in St. Michael, and Bridgetown.[104]

Teachers did not however hold a monopoly on positions in these major urban societies. Another outstanding figure in the leadership was a coloured homoeopathic physician, Dr. Joshua Francis Clarke.[105] As a graduate of Cleveland Hospital College, Ohio, in this alternative medicine, he would have fallen into the category of those whom Moxly referred to as possessing 'bogus degrees.'[106] Dr. Clarke who resided at Chapel Street, Bridgetown, had a successful practice among the black working class across the island, and was one of their chosen representatives before the 1897 Royal Commission.[107]

This kind of interlocking directorship was in evidence across the island. For example in August 1908, Briggs Trotman, Philip Bushell and Joseph Layne were among seventeen founder members of the St. Philip Crane Hill Friendly Society. One month later they were engaged in registering the Rices Friendly Benevolent Society in a contiguous district.[108] It was this interlocking leadership involving colleagues, close friends and family members, coupled with the special privileges, which brought charges of exploitation from the upper classes. The officers of Fitts Village Benevolent Society (of which Dr Clarke was one), ruled that officers, founders and first officers 'shall not pay any contribution after registration, but shall be entitled to all the benefits and privileges of this society, as if they were contributing members.'[109] Joseph Knight, founder of the Marshall Hall Brotherhood in Church Village, St. Philip, was accorded the right ' not [to] pay any subscription but shall be entitled to all the benefits of the society as long as he lives and the society exists.'[110]

It was against this background, that Governor Hodgson, who thought that there were too many societies in Barbados anyway, charged that 'an unnecessary amount of money was being frittered away in paying a crowd of office holders....'[111] There were said to be 580 officials drawing £1,241.17s.1d. annually.[112] Hodgson, upheld the principles of of rational-bureaucracy and expected the friendly societies to tighten their operations, as he was doing in the public service. Ralph Williams, the Colonial Secretary, found Hodgson's administrative interventionism unbearable.

Sir Frederick was a very active governor who was fond of having his own

> way, and perhaps a little bit of everybody else's way too, and I found myself relegated to the work of a chief clerk, with no hand in the control of the colonial service of which I was the head, or of my own office, or of the colony itself; so in the interest of both of us, but more especially in my own, I thought it wise to take the first opportunity to move. [113]

The Registrar blamed the demise of 134 societies which occurred up to 1904 on the salaries of management.[114] In consultation with Mr E. W. Brabrook, the Chief Registrar of England a new Friendly Societies Act was passed in 1904[115] which was in keeping with the 1896 English Act - only more stringent and aimed at forcing amalgamation and limiting remuneration of leaders to one-tenth of a society's funds.[116] Opposition to these changes was swift and government was forced to almost immediately reconsider a new Act. Petitions from the societies reaching the legislature objected to the restriction of remuneration and the compulsory erection of signboards was deemed not feasible because many societies operated in rented buildings, private homes and school rooms.[117] Government wisely heeded these interventions; the appropriate objectionable clauses were eliminated and friendly society leaders got perhaps their first taste of the success of petitioning politics.[118]

Although it was illegal for an individual to combine the offices of trustee, secretary or treasurer in one society, this did not prevent such offices being held by one person in separate societies.[119] More importantly, management fees were set at one-seventh instead of one-tenth. Given the threat which the economic depression posed to the material base of the status and 'respectability' of the lower middle class, the fees and benefits accrued from the working-class friendly societies helped to protect that position. The Education Board, for example, expressed concern in 1902 that the 'moral character' of some male teachers was threatened by indebtedness.[120] Society organizer, Robert Montgomery Cummins was one of those teachers.[121] A symbiotic relationship therefore existed between lower middle class leaders and the general body of working-class members in friendly societies. The former lent rudimentary organizational skills and more importantly 'respectability' to the business of societies, while the nominal fees and benefits members offered to leaders assisted in securing a material base for respectability. The accoutrement of respectability - penguin suit, striped pants, top-hat, walking stick and gold watch on a chain - did not come cheap.[122] Lynch observes perspicaciously, that fees helped teachers to 'carry themselves...a certain way.'[123]

There were occasions when the codes of respectability proved insufficient to protect

subscribers from the exploitation of management. Joseph Bostic, described by the Chief Justice as 'a respectable man', was sentenced to three years imprisonment, for defrauding the St. George Duodicem Vivi Society of £150.[124] There were two very serious cases in 1905 including that of Mary Bonnet (to which reference has already been made) the other involved trustees of the Chariot of Love who took unauthorized loans and lost the grand sum of $573.70 (£120) when the treasurer, Charles Waterman, skipped the island with the funds.[125] It was however, remarkable that there were relatively few cases of impropriety considering that between 1891-1914 about 450 separate societies operated, involving conservatively about 86 percent of the population.

Strict associational politics may have played a small part in muting disaffection. The fines referred to in the appendix of the *Rules of the Model Benevolent (1890)* were typical: 'failing to establish a point of order - 6d,' 'misconduct - 6d,' 'failing to possess a copy of the rules - 6d', and the grand sum of 10shillings for 'failing to prove a charge against an officer.' The strict procedure for articulating grievances has been observed elsewhere[126] and was intended to maintain the integrity of the operation. It was also possibly for this reason that one society did not 'prevent any member from honestly and discreetly discussing the business of the society in a decent place' but stipulated that, 'members shall not be allowed to discuss the business of the society in a liquor shop, or any disreputable place.'[127] Frances Knight found herself evicted unceremoniously by the Marshal of the lodge meeting at Providence School, after a verbal exchange with the Chairman, when she said: 'You all are a blasted lot of thieves.'[128] It does seem unlikely that formalities were enough to deter any subscriber from bringing a case before the Registrar or the Court. The overwhelming indication seems to support the general point that major pecuniary infelicities were few, and the working classes felt comfortable with the management they had. By 1914 the leaders and managers would have felt vindicated by the Report of the new Registrar:

> As regards the officers of these societies, there seems to be a rather general impression that the majority of the Societies are carried on only in the interests of the officers. This is hardly correct. The salaries allowed to be paid to the officers is limited by law to one-seventh of the total annual income of each society; and when the books and accounts are audited at the end of the year, the Auditor sees that the limit is not exceeded.[129]

It was the moral authority which the lower middle class eventually won for themselves in the face of persistent slurs of chicanery levelled by the upper classes, coupled

with the multiple experiences of formal organization and leadership which provided foundations for the postwar political thrust against oligarchy in Barbados. Of course, friendly societies avowedly declared themselves apolitical, meaning narrowly that supporting candidature for the Assembly was not their business. 'The Friendly Society,' states Hunte, 'though seemingly apolitical and dedicated to the attainment of social and personal objectives, was the bed-rock of political organisation and development.'[130]

Economic benefits, 'rationality' and 'commonsense.'

The longstanding debate over the character of friendly society leaders was also inextricably linked to the question of their competence, and by extension, the actuarial soundness of the societies. Friendly societies and other working-class mutual-aid operations appeared to fail the test of 'rationality' because none of them maximized economic benefits.[131] The literate lower middle-class leaders who were members of the Oddfellows, Foresters and Mechanics Orders and prided themselves on actuarial soundness, accomplished little in transforming the *modus operandi* of the local operations. For instance, the majority of local friendly societies refused to implement graduated scales of contributions according to age and thus risks. It seems rather that societies opted to function on a basis of 'common sense' rooted in the day to day experiences of their members and based on established cultural values.

Most societies assumed a virtual entire life of work for most of their members without a real 'retirement age' or a pension in view. Among the 12,277 male agricultural labourers in 1911 were 'a large number of those who have passed the prime of life ...'[132] These old labourers, many of whom were employed because of high male emigration would have, in other circumstances been susceptible to casualization. To burden the older labourer with higher rates of contributions because they were higher 'risks' was not in keeping with the black working-class view of respect and support for elderly kin. Most societies provided a sick benefit which could be converted into a pension after twenty-six weeks of contributions. This enabled some incapacitated workers to receive between twenty cents to forty cents (ten pence to one shilling, eight pence) without the requirement of further contributions. Moreover, members of many years good standing were granted benefits without further contributions in the same way as many officers.

By 1906, with some £30,000 in assets, some societies were extending loans to their

members.[133] Under the Friendly Society Act of 1891 a member could hold up to £100 in a separate loan fund in a society, an amount which was doubled in the 1905 Act.[134] These provisions meant that societies had the potential for significant capital accumulation, even though £50 was set as the upper limit to which an individual could be indebted to a society. Few societies however, could provide substantial loans and almost all of them like Marshall Hall United Brotherhood Society, revised their rules to replace the provision for loans with bonuses.[135]

The 'bonus' was a cash dividend 'declared', usually at Christmas time, from the balance outstanding when management fees and other claims were accounted for. An individual's share of the bonus was the balance left from any benefit claims received during the year. 'The advantages claimed for a bonus' the Registrar was informed, 'is that it has the effect in very many instances of preventing a member whose sickness is of slight nature, from sending in a claim for sick relief...'[136] Section 12 (4) of the 1891 Act had provided clearly that,

> a society shall not be disentitled to register by reason of any rule or practice of dividing any part of the funds thereof if the rules thereof contain distinct provisions for meeting all claims upon the society existing at the time of the division before such division takes place.

Bonus payments predated this legislative provision and were possibly adopted from the 'dividing', 'share-out' or 'slate clubs' of Britain,[137] although they were also congruent with the 'terminating' nature of the meeting-turn. The Poor Relief Commission had observed that 'in one or two cases, instead of investing all surplus funds in the Savings' Bank, a bonus is paid to all subscribing members at the close of the year, - a course calculated to bring home the practical fruits of providence more vividly.'[138] Large societies such as the Poor Man's Relief and Burial, the Black Rock and the Arcade societies in St. Michael, were among the first societies to make a success of the practice.[139] Bonus-paying became increasingly widespread after Panama money began to flow into the island. Within the first six months of 1904, five societies amended their rules to function as 'dividing societies',.[140] and by December 1906, 69 percent of all registered societies had paid Christmas bonuses.[141] So popular was the bonus that each local society paid one to in order to retain patrons. The registrar observed:

> It occurs to me that a very large number of the Friendly Societies of the

> present day are being worked more with the object of commending them to the favour of the public by a distribution of a Bonus, than on the primary idea of relieving the sick and distressed and burying the dead, which ought to be their proper basis.[142]

Of the £30,626 withdrawn from the Savings Bank in December 1909, £10,400 was by societies to meet the bonus claims of their members.[143] The bonus system seemed irrational and was not only condemned by the registrar but was alluded to by some observers as evidence for the stereotype of the ignorant excitable black. For example, Franck states,

> But they [friendly societies] are typically tropical or African in their indifference to a more distant tomorrow, for at the end of each year the remaining funds are divided among those members who have not drawn out more than they paid in, and with perhaps as much as five dollars each in their pockets the society indulges in a hilarious "blow-out." [144]

If the bonus 'craze' as the registrar referred to it, was a social pathogen then the Bridgetown merchants were happily becoming infected. 'Pickles' claimed that some $50,000 went into the pockets of the poor and to the merchants, and chided the Registrar for his criticisms.[145] The firm of Ross at No. 1 Broad Street, splashed its advertisement across the front page of the *Weekly Recorder* : 'Bonus Week at Ross!' The 'fertile brain of Mr Roach' of the Unique Arcade Store offered money envelopes to the friendly societies with an advertisement on one side and a discount coupon inside.[146] Cartoons appeared contrasting 'the Old System and the Bonus System' and depicting 'a Busy Time in Town: Merchants and the Recipients of the Bonus Fraternising.'[147]

Table 3.5. shows that the bonus constituted no less than half of the benefits paid out by societies, and continued to increase. It was provisionally estimated to be 82.8 percent by 1946.[148] Richardson argues that the inflow of Panama money transformed the ethos of the operations of friendly societies and the emphasis on the end-of-year bonus was evidence that interdependence was giving way to individualism.[149] Richardson refers to the claims of vestry officials that relatives were committing the elderly to the parish almshouses instead of applying to the societies for sick relief. In 1909 the parochial authorities of St. Thomas and Christ Church ruled against the admission of the dependents of friendly society members to the almshouses. The authorities felt that relatives were more interested in claiming the death benefits on behalf of their parents and grandparents

than in really providing an appropriate burial.[150]

Table 3.5. Friendly Society Benefits, 1903-1914.

Year	Funerals	%	Sickness	%	Bonus	%
1903	£1,131	-	£2,922	-	£Not Known	-
1906	3,465	16.6	6,933	33.2	10,459	50.1
1907	3,169	12.1	9,467	36.0	13,624	51.9
1913	5,921	18.2	8,481	26.0	18,191	55.8
1914	7,561	22.5	9,084	27.1	16,873	50.3

Source: Calculated from Half-yearly Reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, 1903-1914.

However, burial statistics drawn from the Registrar's reports of 1903, 1906 and 1907 examined in conjunction with the vital statistics of the island for these years, show that of the 3,929 deaths in 1903, 717 or 18.2 percent were buried by the friendly societies. They rose to 2,713 or 35.8 percent of the 7,566 deaths in 1906, and by 1907, the figure reached a remarkable 52.9 percent - 2,774 of the 5,236 deaths in the whole island. These figures clearly do not support the claims of socially irresponsible individualism. The point worth making is that mutuality *increased* during this period. One unmistakable evidence of this was the steady increase of dependents, estimated at almost three to each member in 1908.[151] This was another trend which met with the consternation of the Registrar: 'alas! the recklessness with which dependents are put upon the Societies' books is as rife as ever, and as unwise as ever.'[152] A closer examination however, shows that the vulnerable children of the working class were significantly represented among these dependents.

An official investigation was conducted in 1911 to ascertain the number of infants up to one year old on the books of societies, and to establish how much was being expended on burials for infants. It was reported that 3,221 such dependents were registered in that year. This was 52.6 percent of the total 6,106 births in 1911. Of the 1,605 deaths in the same year, 861 or 53.6 percent were buried by the friendly societies.[153] The large number of burials compared to the relatively modest burial expenditure observed in Table 3.5 above is further confirmation that friendly societies were concerning themselves with

the unabated problem of infant mortality in Barbados.

It was apparent from the 1911 investigation, that the cost of an infant burial was about 14s.6d at least. However, an assessment of some 1,416 burial payments showed that the majority (815) of payments made were under $3.50 (14s.7d.),[154] only 30 were $6.00 (£1.5s) or more.[155] The majority of payments did fall below the minimum cost of a burial, but the fact that the friendly societies buried 861 infants in 1911 yet made 1,416 payments, showed that many parents had received benefits from more than one society. Evidently, the insistence of the registrar in 1906 that a society pay out only a single funeral benefit[156] could not prevent multiple payments derived from separate societies.

Table 3.6 Burial of dependent infants by the friendly societies in 1911.

Parishes	Births	Deaths	Dependents of societies	Buried by societies	% of infants buried
St.Michael	1,737	529	964	299	56.5
Ch.Church	656	151	213	61	40.4
St.George	592	172	322	106	61.6
St.Philip	659	175	513	129	73.7
St.John	383	86	176	43	50
St.James	421	121	241	37	30.6
St.Thomas	287	87	112	39	44.8
St.Peter	379	85	222	42	49.4
St.Lucy	356	85	226	53	62.3
St.Joseph	316	69	176	34	49.2
St.Andrew	320	45	56	18	40
TOTALS	6,106	1,605	3,221	861	53.6

Source: MCA 1912-13, doc. 147.

Richardson and Beckles have argued that bonus money was in effect Panama remittances diverted into individual-oriented saving and consumption because the 1905 Friendly Society Act restricted to one acre the amount of land a society could acquire.[157]

Consequently, the potential threat of this capital to acquire and redistribute land or otherwise undermine white interest, 'if properly mobilised', was thwarted.[158] The argument is attractive but flawed. The Registrar in 1914 stated that '...the accumulation of a large reserve of money to the credit of a Society is not desirable or necessary, and it was chiefly on that account that the bonus system was inaugurated...'[159] There is no doubt that the bonus came to be viewed favourably by the government as an outlet for 'surplus' funds, provided that the traditional insurance functions of the societies were not compromised. The bonus system may have belatedly gained government's approbation, but its 'inauguration' and perpetuation was the determination of the societies themselves.

Restricting land investment to one acre was nothing new; it was embodied in the very first Friendly Society Act of 1880, and had its origins in the 1855 Friendly Society Act of England.[160] This stricture had envisaged societies acquiring property for erecting permanent lodges and associated charitable endeavours. Legislation in effect restricted investment to the Savings Bank. However, societies could amalgamate with, or convert themselves into, joint stock companies, if the membership holding five-sixths of its investment agreed.[161] Why friendly societies resisted amalgamation or capitalistic corporatization seems to be the more fruitful line of enquiry rather than focussing on state legislation.

Between 1880 and 1914, out of the estimated 450 societies that existed, there were seven amalgamations, involving fourteen societies, and no societies converted to joint stock companies.[162] Inter-locking directorships were not translated into amalgamated or affiliated branch operations. Undoubtedly, consolidation stood to reduce multiple fees received by managers operating separate societies. The significance of this cannot be easily ascertained, but there are other compelling explanations. Communal insularity was a feature of numerous villages spatially separated by thick fields of sugar cane. Societies always met at night and crossing to another village to pay subscriptions was a risky venture, a point made by the Teachers' Association.[163] Fears would have been sustained by folk myths. McLellan noted:

> There is a much-dreaded individual in Barbados, an outlaw, known as "the man in the canes." One hears him referred to in awed whispers from one end of the island to the other. It is his omnipresence that frights most...."The man in the canes", as he is referred to to-day, is a myth, of course, but at various times there have been men in the canes, men of whom the police were searching high and low, and who lived as they could by robbery until they were trapped.[164]

Moreover, community-based societies were more conducive to the promotion of working-class communal culture, especially funerary traditions. With burials having to take place not too long after death, societies despatched their marshals or sick visitors to summons all members residing in a three-mile mile radius of the lodge to attend the funeral in the stipulated regalia. This feature would have been severely compromised in large centralized bureaucratic organizations. Lack of knowledge by lower middle-class leaders to 'properly mobilize' the resources of these societies, or refusal to do so for personal aggrandizement, do not appear to be fundamental explanations for the 'puzzling' operations of societies. Indeed, the local middle-class affiliated friendly societies or secret orders, unlike their English counterparts, continued to emphasise ritual rather than the maximization of economic advantage.[165]

This does not suggest necessarily that land acquisition and the redistribution of economic resources were not on the minds of some who were close to the movement,[166] but that members were not prepared simply to be told what to do by patronising officials. 'This is a popular movement springing from the masses themselves, ''Pickles'' observed, 'and the people know quite well what they want.'[167] Amalgamation and corporate change required a five-sixth majority of the financial members and clearly that was either not being given to the middle-class leaders or being sought by them.

'Pickles' did have some good advice; he saw the need to establish a Peasant's Bank for small proprietors and a Building Loan Society for the masses to obtain land and proper houses.[168] Already there was the Barbados Building and Loan Association established in June 1889 as a building society to assist clerks and middle-class employees to obtain land and houses. Remarkably, during his visit in 1948, Wells found that legislation existed on the statute books enabling Cooperatives and Building Societies in Barbados, but virtually no use was being made of them. Even if consumerist individualism had triumphed by 1920 as Richardson argues, abundant evidence exists to suggest that before 1914 mutual-aid institutions concerned themselves less with maximizing economic advantage and more with a communitarian emphasis placing a high value on 'culture.' The Landship aptly illustrates this point.

The Landship

The landship was a friendly society peculiar to Barbados in which members wore a

quasi-naval regalia, adopted naval ranks or titles, and engaged in dance manoeuvres imitative of a ship at sea. The lodge room of the 'crew' was called appropriately a 'ship'. It was similar to the lodge rooms of other societies with the exception that masts were erected on the roof.[169] Members met ('docked') regularly for business and to practise manoeuvres. In the oral tradition of the island its origin is attributed to a Barbadian, Moses Ward or Wood, who served in the Royal Navy and lived at Cardiff and Southampton.[170] After retiring to Barbados in an area of St. Michael which came to be known as Seaman's Village, he organized a society of men in October 1863 or 1868 for the purposes of mutual aid, and to reproduce the camaraderie and discipline of naval life.

The landship modified customs employed by community friendly societies and fraternal orders. Although not requiring secret passwords like the orders, members were expected to declare their rank to the sentry at the door.[171] Officers held such titles as, Lord High Admiral, Rear Admiral, Captain, Lord Doctor, to name a few of the long list of functionaries. In keeping with the practice of many benevolent societies which had a juvenile membership, the Landship accepted boys as 'blues' and girls as 'dingy girls'. Ladies in the movement dressed as nurses and were given the title, 'stars'.[172]

The Landship engaged in a level of conviviality unmatched by the other societies. While the branches of English fraternities in Barbados held one or two annual processions, the landship 'sailed' frequently through the villages propelled by the rhythms of the 'tuk' band.[173] The 'tuk' band was for poor black Barbadians what the fife and drum and similar working men's bands were for the English proletariat (many of which wore military-type uniforms).[174] The polyrhythm of the kittle drum, bass drum (bum drum), steel triangle and tin flute were unmistakably African.[175] Although dressed in quasi-naval uniforms, landship parades substituted the conventional march with processional dances, including the simulation of 'rough seas' and the gyrating 'wangle-low.'[176]

It is very difficult to ascertain the number of 'ships' in the late nineteenth century, but official action appeared to have reduced their number.[177] Following complaints from the English Admiralty that their uniforms (in England) were being denigrated by 'sandwich men', hotel porters, civilian music bands and actors, a bill was passed against the unauthorized wearing of military uniforms. Because British troops were stationed in Barbados, the Secretary of State urged the local legislature in 1895 to legislate against the unauthorized wearing of military uniforms as in England.[178] Members of the Barbados House of Assembly were divided over the necessity of such legislation in the island. Mr.

Greaves argued that the bill was appropriate because, '[t]ime was here, when a band of roughs dressed up in military uniform [and] used to parade the streets.[179] However, Dr. Phillips thought that 'nobody ever mistook for a soldier a black or coloured man who wore a uniform of the white regiment.'[180] Concern was also raised that the practice of selling castoff military uniforms for the use of plantation labourers might be curtailed.[181] Nevertheless the Act was passed.[182]

Before the shake-up in 1901 by Governor Hodgson, some landships were registered societies while others were operating illegally. One 'pirate ship' was the 'Rosetta' which 'docked' at Bay Street, St. Michael on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, between 7.00 pm and 9.30 pm[183] Thrice weekly meetings were unusual for friendly societies and suggest that a premium was placed on conviviality by the 'ships.' The Rosetta's membership consisted primarily of boatmen, a feature which characterised most ships up to the postwar period.[184] For the provision of the usual sickness and funeral benefits, the Rosetta's officers contributed six pence per week and others, three pence per week. It was while playing a band to attract membership that its 'Admiral' Alonza Duke a boatman, and the Paymaster, Walter Wiltshire a tailor, were arrested for conducting an unregistered society. The ship's captain petitioned Governor Hodgson in June 1901 against the conviction but was advised by the Governor to cut out the 'child's play', augment its membership and register properly .[185]

Hodgson's agitation drove the remaining landships aground in 1901. He opposed those groups which in his view, 'had been started as Friendly Societies with a view to enable those who belonged to them to wear a quasi-naval or military uniform and to call themselves by grandiloquent titles.'[186] He was satisfied that the 'bogus Friendly Societies' were among the seventy-one struck off the register and had 'ceased to exist'[187] Hodgson may have been genuinely concerned that the landship should operate 'rationally' and maximize economic advantage without the distraction of playful ritual. However, one wonders whether Hodgson stopped to reflect on his ethnocentrist value judgments, when on Tuesday evening, 16 December 1902, he crossed the chequered floor of St. Michael's Freemason Lodge, blindfolded, with his left trouser leg rolled above the knee, right shirt sleeve rolled above the elbow, left breast bared, right foot in a slipper and a noose around his neck.[188] In August 1904 he also joined the Scotia Lodge.[189]

Grandiloquence and verbal performances were integral aspects of Afro-West Indian culture,[190] but the use of 'grandiloquent titles', such as the creative names of societies that

he criticised[191] were all essential ingredients of fraternal culture generally.[192] The spectacle of a black proletariat gyrating in the uniforms of the Imperial Navy may have struck some members of the white elite as a cruel iconoclastic act against a precious symbol of empire. Iconoclasm need not be a logical result of ritual inversion. Parading in these symbols of empire in pursuit of the objective of avoiding charity, meant that the landship members were as concerned about respectability as others. As 'Admiral' Duke pointed out, it was their desire to be kept 'above the frowns of the world'.[193] It should not have been surprising that a friendly society founded by a seaman and supported by boatmen should seek to employ the symbolism of the navy. Moreover, appropriating names like 'Rodney', 'Nelson' and 'Iron Duke', illustrates to some degree the success of militarism which was a ubiquitous ingredient of imperial popular culture from the second half of the nineteenth century.

The landship permitted the vicarious and ritualistic participation of its membership at a level of society for which there was little hope for actual inclusion. 'Lord Wellington' Bibby and 'Admiral' Gordon of the Landship Nelson, were among the 'old sports' and mimics C. A. Bartlett remembered fondly.[194] But the significance for 'crews' was not so much the emulation of their betters but their capacity to create out of their colonial world an institution which could meet their material and psychological needs. In the face of official hostility, the Barbados landship survived to be organised as a 'fleet' of over thirty ships by 1934.[195]

The question of thrift and mutual aid in Barbados between 1880 and 1914 was much more than a matter of saving expenditure on the poor. The encouragement of such activity by both imperial and colonial authorities, aided by the clergy, was intended to encourage habits thought to be appropriate for ex-slaves-cum-proletariat. Habits such as labour regularity and pecuniary discipline, practices considered to be contributory to social and economic stability. The clergy and officials may have provided *some* of the formal and legal framework within which economic mutuality was organized but they can take no credit for the enthusiasm with which it was pursued. By the latter half of the nineteenth century the black working class had taken over the pioneering and organization of the friendly society movement, a move met with grave misgivings by the plantocratic elite. This independent black leadership endured many charges, ranging from rascality to idiotic incompetence, but nevertheless enjoyed the confidence of thousands of working-class members.

Self-improvement, self-education, sobriety, decorum, civility and morality - in a word 'respectability' - was not the inculcation of middle class bourgeoise values which some historians of this period tend to argue. Rather, it was a relatively autonomous strand of black working class conservatism which in many ways seemed congruent with Victorian 'respectability'. Individualistic self-help, with the attendant concerns for cold economic rationalism, was largely rejected for policies that reflected the real lived material conditions of those involved.

Politically, mutual-aid societies became the embryo of the trade union movement and black mass politics in the post World War I period. They provided the foundation of training for leadership in debate, parliamentary procedure, organization and popular mobilization. Socio-politically they brought together the different sections of the demographically dispersed working and lower middle classes, setting the foundation for surmounting communitarian insularity with popular trade unions and political parties better equipped to articulate class interests. This process was however slow in coming to fruition because those within the middle class who identified with working-class interests were engaged in a conservative fraternal culture committed to the colonial and imperial order.

Chapter 3

1. For analyses of public poor relief in post-emancipation Barbados, see Richard Carlisle Carter, 'The Development of Social Assistance Policy in Barbados since 1875'. MPhil thesis, University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, 1986; *idem*, 'Public Amenities after Emancipation,' in Woodville Marshall, ed., *Emancipation II*; Leonard P. Fletcher, 'The Evolution of Poor Relief in Barbados, 1838-1900,' *Journal of Caribbean History* 26: 2 (1992); *idem*, 'The Evolution of Poor Relief in Barbados, 1900 to 1969,' *Caribbean Studies* 25: 3-4 (1992).

2. Fletcher, 'The Evolution of Poor Relief in Barbados, 1838-1900,' 183-84.

3. Poor Law Commission Report, 6-8.

4. Poor Law Commission Report, p. 30

5. Quoted in Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados,* p. 72.

6. PP 1884-85 (C.4583) LII, Barbados Blue Book Report for 1884, p. 82.

7. Letter to the editor from 'Vox', *Herald*, Thurs., 11 March 1886.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., *Herald*, Thurs., 18 June 1890.

10. *Agricultural Reporter*, Thur., 7 June 1900, 2. For a previous statement on working class privacy in financial matters, see, PP 1898 (c. 8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, para. 370, p. 167, testimony of Canon Sealy.

11. Quoted in *Agricultural Reporter*, Mon., 30 July 1900, 4.

12. PP 1898 (c. 8657) L, WIRC, App. C, pt. 3, para. 943, p. 194.

13. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados,*167.

14. CO 28/254, no 4 3 Jan. 1901 Williams to Chamberlain.

15. Respective Reports of the Savings Bank.

16. MCA 1909-10, doc. 154, Report of the Savings Bank for the year 1909.

17. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 166.

18. *Applewhaites Plantation Ledger*, fol. 57. Also eighteen labourers received lumber to the amount of $189.83 in 1914, fol.104, in BDA.

19. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, II, pt. 3, para 943, p. 194. For the operation of 'truck' systems elsewhere in the West Indies seeoperational in Belize, was therefore not unknown in the rest of the BWI as Bolland postulates. Nigel O. Bolland, 'Systems of Domination after Slavery: The Control of Land and Labor in the British West Indies after 1838.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23: 4 (1981), 611. 'A Modified Form of Slavery: The Credit and Truck Systems in the Bahamas in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (1986)
'Labour Systems in Postemancipation Bahamas.' *Social and Economic Studies* 37: 1 & 2 (1988): 181-202.

20. J. H. Sutton Moxly, *An Account of a West Indian Sanatorium and a Guide to Barbados* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886).

21. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 4 Oct. 1902, 5 and Sat., 11 Oct. 1902, 5.

22. 'Breach of the Pawnbrokers Act,' *Agricultural Reporter*, Sat., 3 Jan. 1903, 3.

23. PP 1898 (c. 8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, paras. 212, 218-19, p. 160.

24. Mc Lellan, *Some Phases of Barbados Life*, 62-3. McLellan vividly captures the impact of Panama money on small shopkeeping development and the increasing commercial competition, see Chapter XIV, 'Over-Shopped Barbados.'

25. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 186.

26. OG 39:103 8 Dec. 1904, p.146, DHA (1904-06).

27. Ibid.

28. PP 1898 (c.8656) L, WIRC, app. C, I, paras. 891-92.

29. McLellan, *Some phases of Barbados Life,* 61.

30. Ibid., 64.

31. For the phenomenon of child dispersion in Jamaica see, Erna Brodber, 'The Second Generation of Freemen in Jamaica, 1907-1944.' PhD Thesis, (UWI, March 1984), 57-69 and for Barbados, see Chapter 5 of this thesis, 'Childhood, Youth and Socialization.'

32. E.A. Cordle, 'Overheard,' *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 8 Nov. 1902, 6.

33. Poor Relief Commission, p. 31.

34. Shirley Ardener, 'The Comparative Study of Rotating Credit Associations', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 94 pt. II (July-Dec. 1964), 201.

35. Melville Herskovits, *Trinidad Village,* (New York: Octagon, 1947), 292 and his *The Myth of the Negro Past (*New York: Harper & Bros.,1941), 165; William R. Bascom, 'The Esusu: A Credit Institution of the Yoruba,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, and Ireland* 82 pt. I, (1952), 69.

36. C.H.G. Legge, 'Mutual Benefit Associations.-The Friendly Societies Ordinance, (British Guiana) 1883', *West Indian Quarterly,* 1 (1885-6), 298.

37. Smith and Smith, *To Shoot Hard Labour*, 116.

38. Bascom, 'Esusu', 68.

39. Poor Relief Commission, 31.

40. Ibid.

41. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 10 June 1899, 4.

42. Ibid.

43. These conventions continued to be applicable well into this century. See, Margaret Katzin, 'Partners: An Informal Savings Institution in Jamaica', *Social and Economic Studies*, 8: 4 (1959), 438; Christine Barrow, 'Meetings: A Group Savings Arrangement in Barbados,' *African Studies Association of the West Indies Bulletin*, 8, (Dec. 1976), 35.

44. *Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, Tuesday, 8 May 1888.

45. Poor Relief Commission Report, p. 31.

46. See, Ardener, 'Rotating Credit Associations', 217-21 and Bascom, 'Esusu', 69.

47. Clifford Geertz, 'The Revolving Credit Association: A Middle Rung in Development,' *Economic Development And Cultural Change*, 10: 3 (April 1962), 263.

48. Ibid., 263.

49. Donald V. Kurtz, 'The Rotating Credit Association: An adaptation to Poverty', *Human Organization* 32: 1 (spring, 1973), 54.

50. Barrow, 'Meetings', 39.

51. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, para. 943, p. 194, evidence of W. Walter S. Marston.

52. For a more general criticism of Geertz see, Ardener, 'Rotating Credit Associations', 221-22.

53. Warren Alleyne, 'The Old Friendly Societies', *Sunday Sun* 10 Dec. 1989.

54. Hilton A. Vaughan, 'Historical Notes on the Early Friendly Society Movement,' 3, Vaughan Papers in BDA. I am grateful to Dr Anthony Phillips chairman of the trustees of the Vaughan Collection, for a copy of this manuscript; Sehon S. Goodridge, *St. Mary's Barbados, 1827-1977* ([Barbados:] 1977), 31.

55. PP 1842, XII, encls. in no.1, Reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates of Barbados.

56. Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837* (London: [1838] Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968), 142.

57. Rules of the United Bridgetown Friendly Society [1846], in Bethel Methodist Church Friendly Society Accounts, 1844-53, in BPL.

58. Poor Relief Commission Report, p. 31.

59. PP 1882 (c.3218) XLIV, Barbados Blue Book Report for 1880, para. 27, p. 162.

60. The Friendly and Benevolent Societies Act, 1880, secs. I & II.

61. The Friendly Societies Act, 1891--65.

62. MCA 1894-95, doc. 103, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-Year July-Dec. 1894, p. 8.

63. MCA 1896, doc. 159, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-Year, Jan.-June, 1896, p. 2.

64. MCA 1898-99, doc. 165, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-Year, July-Dec. 1898, p. 2.

65. Calculated from, BDA AN628/4/14 *St. Ambrose Friendly Society Membership Book, with Subscriptions and Benefits, 1884-c.1925.*

66. MCA 1901-02, doc. 160, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-Year, July-Dec. 1901, p. 4.

67. Poor Relief Commission Report, p. 30.

68. Calculated from, MCA 1891-92, doc. 166 and MCA 1891-92, doc. 264; Half-yearly Reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for Jan.-June 1891 and July-Dec. 1891, respectively.

69. MCA 1911-12, doc.162, Barbados Census, 1891-1911, app. B.

70. E. Goulburn Sinckler, *The Barbados Handbook*, (London: Duckworth, 1914), 91.

71. BBB 1890 and MCA 1902-03, doc. 78, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan-June, 1902, p. 1.

72. MCA 1894-95, doc. 8, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June, 1894, p. 21.

73. *Rules of the Tradesmen Institute Friendly Society* (1911), Rule 1, 1. All rules cited are in the Barbados Department of Archives (BDA).

74. For the case of Jamaica, see, Patrick Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 227-33.

75. OG 41: 92, 12 Nov. 1906, doc. 32 (1906-07), Education Board Report, 1905, p. 1509.

76. *Rules of the Lady of the Night Friendly Society* (1909), rule 1, 1.

77. Ibid., 28.

78. *Rules of the Bright Light Friendly Society* (1910), 1, 24.

79. *Barbados Blue Book,* 1888.

80. MCA 1905-06, doc. 102, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Society for the Half-Year July-Dec. 1905, p. 2-3. See also BBBs 1903-05, which shows eight shillings in the bank. The bulk of its funds were probably allowed to remain in the treasurer/ trustees' hands.

81. BDA ANG 10/4/3 *Monthly Subscription Book of the St. George's Friendly Society.*

82. BDA AN628/4/14, *St Ambrose Friendly Society Book, 1884-1925.*

83. Ibid., Joseph Layne, Campion Land, Martindale's Rd., 7 Oct. 1912. Unbound letter between fols. 208-09.

84. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, vol 2, pt. 3. memorandum 239 of George Gay Daniel, p. 219.

85. OG Extraordinary 45: 85 'Amendments to Rules and Regulations for Elementary Schools made under Section 12 of the Education Act 1890', 28 Sept. 1910, pp. 1616-18.

86. AN628/4/14, *St Ambrose Friendly Society Book,*172. see also the experience of E. Watts who lost three babies, 179.

87. Poor Relief Commission Report, p. 8.

88. Ibid., Memorandum by J. Y. Edghill, p. 48, para. 7.

89. *Agricultural Reporter,* 8 May 1888.

90. 'Report of Registrar of Friendly Societies,' *Agricultural Reporter*, Wed., 8 Aug. 1900.

91. *Rules of the Redwar Church Friendly Society, (1910)*, Rule 6, 2.

92. *Rules of the Collymore Rock A.M.E. Church Friendly Society*, (1906), Rule 5; *'Rules of the 'Free Gospel'(Sick and Burial Society) (1915),* Rule 5, 2; *Mount Tabor Moravian Church Burial Guild* [1907-13], Rule 1; *St. Mary's Friendly Society Minute Book, 1904-44.*

93. *Times*, Sat., 5 Oct. 1889.

94. *Times*, Sat., 18 May 1889.

95. Letter to the Editor from 'A Son of the Soil,' *Times,* Sat., 25 May 1889.

96. 'The Clerk's Union versus "Others"', *Taxpayer*, Sat., 3 April 1886, 4.

97. A fact not peculiar to Barbados but evident in Britain and the United States; See, R. J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites,' *Historical Journal* 26: 1 (1983), 101; Alvin J. Schimdt, *Fraternal Organizations* (Westport Conn: Greenwood, Press, 1980), 15-6. See however a different view from Australia, David G. Green and Lawrence G. Cromwell, *Mutual Aid or Welfare State: Australia's Friendly Societies* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 19-20, Ch. 3.

98. *Rules of the El Dorado (Juvenile and Adult) Friendly Society* (1908), 22.

99. *Rules of the Expedite Friendly Society* (1908), Rule 88, 26.

100. *Times*, Sat., 22 Oct. 1892.

101. MCA 1906-07, doc. 162, Report on the Elementary Schools for the year, 1906.

102. *Rules of the Dayrell's Road Friendly Society*; *Rules of the Schimdt Gate Friendly Society*; and *Rules of the Ladies of the Night Friendly Society.*

103. OG 52: 17, DHA, 26 Feb.1917, p. 222. He received a special pension of £40 on the recommendation of the Education Board, the Morrison Pension Act, 1917--8.

104. Deane appointed Roberts and Cummins, 'my two friends' as Executors of his Will, (RB4/99/359 [1913] in BDA), and Cummins and Deane shared a common property boundary (110/228[1934] Will of R. M. Cummins in BDA.)

105. See Appendix 6 Dr Joshua Francis Clarke and Benevolent Organizations in Barbados

106. Moxly, *West Indian Sanatorium*, 39.

107. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, para. 882, p. 188.

108. *Rules of the St. Philip Crane Hill Friendly Society*, (1908), 1, 19; *Rules of the Rices Friendly and Benevolent Society* (1908), 1, 24.

109. *Rules of the Fitts Village Benevolent Society* (1889), rule 18, 7

110. *Rules of the Marshall Hall United Hall Brotherhood Society* (1903), rule 30, 15.

111. MCA 1901-02, doc. 160, Preface to Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, July-Dec.1901, p. 2.

112. PP 1902 (cd. 788-38), Barbados Blue Book Report for 1901-02, p. 37.

113. Ralph Williams, *How I Became a Governor* (London: John Murray, 1913), 256.

114. MCA 1904-05, doc. 55, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June, 1904, p. 6.

115. MCA 1904-05, doc. 55, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, Jan-June,1904 and *Debates of the LegislativeCouncil* (DLC) 5 Dec. 1903, p. 68; CO 28/255 Domestic, E. W. Brabrook to Under Secretary of State, 24 Dec. 1901.

116. CO 28/254 no 32, Williams to Chamberlain, 14 Feb. 1901; For these distinctions, see, MCA 1904-05, doc. 55, 'C. Remarks on the Friendly Society Act, 1904', in Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, Jan.-June 1904, 4-7.

117. MCA 1904-05, doc. 37 Petition from Teacher's Association; MCA 1904-05, doc. 22, Petition of the Loyal Paradise Regain Lodge No.616 of the Improved Order of Oddfellows London Unity; Ibid, doc. 29, Petition of the Shepherds' Humane Charitable Society; Ibid, doc. 30, Petition of Livesey Comet Lodge of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows.

118. For debates and changes see, DLC, Tues., 21 Feb. 1905; OG 40: 10, 2 Feb. 1905, DHA 1904-05; 1905--1, An Act to Consolidate the Acts of this Island Relating to Friendly Societies.

119. Friendly Society Act, 1904-3, Sec.28 (4).

120. MCA 1903-04, doc. 77, Education Board Report, 1902.

121. BDA ED 1/9 Board of Education Minutes (hereafter BDED), 22 Sept. 1902., 34; Mon 15 Dec. 1902, 47.

122. C. L. R. James offers a perceptive description of lower middle-class respectability in the West Indies as epitomized by his grandfather. C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (London: Stanley Paul, 1963), 17-8.

123. Louis Lynch, *The Barbados Book,* (London: Andre Deutsch,1964), 227.

124. 'Court of Grand Sessions,' *Agricultural Reporter*, Tues., 14 April 1896.

125. MCA 1905-06, doc. 102, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-Year July-Dec. 1905, pp. 2-4.

126. Green and Cromwell, *Mutual Aid or Welfare State*, 54-8.

127. *Rules of the Christian United Order Friendly Society* (1904), rule 23 (b), 12.

128. 'Assistant Court of Appeal,' *Times*, Wed., 17 Sept. 1890.

129. MCA 1914-15, doc. 162, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June, 1914, p. 3.

130. Keith Hunte, 'The Struggle for Political Democracy: Charles Duncan O' Neal and the Democratic League,' in Marshall, ed., *Emancipation III*, 21.

131. Leonard P. Fletcher, 'The Decline of Friendly Societies in Grenada: Some Economic Aspects.' *Caribbean Studies* 12: 2 (July 1972), 99-111; *idem*, 'Some Economic Aspects in the Decline of Friendly Societies in the Windward Islands.' *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 6: 3-4 (July-Oct., 1977), 191-202.

132. MCA 1911-12, doc. 162, Census of Barbados (1891-1911) para. 39.

133. MCA 1906-07, doc. 257, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June, 1907.

134. Sections 18 and 47 respectively.

135. *Rules of the Marshall Hall United Brotherhood Friendly Society,* (1903), Rule 24 (a), 13 and amended *Rules* (1911), Rule 23 & 24, 2-3.

136. MCA 1914-15, doc. 162, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June 1914, p. 4.

137. P. H. J. H. Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1961), 57-58.

138. Report of the Poor Relief Commission, 1875-77, p. 30.

139. MCA 1904-05, doc. 55, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June 1904, p. .3.

140. Ibid; MCA 1905-06, doc. 9, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June 1905, 5.

141. MCA1906-07, doc. 257, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June 1907.

142. Ibid.

143. MCA 1909-10, doc. 154, Report of the Savings Bank for the year 1909.

144. Harry A. Franck, Roaming Through the West Indies, (London: Blue Ribbon Books, 1920), 370.

145. Pickle, 'Inter Alia', *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 24 Oct. 1908, 7.

146. *Weekly Recorder,* Sat., 5 Dec. 1908, 7; 12 Dec. 1908, 1.

147. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 24 Oct. 1908; 12 Dec. 1908.

148. A. F. Wells, File, F.S. 5 vol. I,' Report on Friendly Societies in Barbados, [1948], typescript in office of the Registrar of Cooperatives, Bridgetown, p. 16.

149. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados,* 211.

150. Cited in Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 210.

151. MCA 1907-08, doc. 207, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June 1908, p. 4.

152. Ibid.

153. MCA 1912-13, doc. 147.

154. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

155. Ibid., Table 4, p. 7.

156. MCA 1906-07, doc. 257, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June 1907, para. E.

157. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 208; Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 151-52.

158. Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 151.

159. MCA 1914, doc.162, Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, Jan.-June 1914., p. 4.

160. See, 18 and 19 VICT. c.63 (1855), *An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law Relating to Friendly Societies*; 38 and 39 VICT. c.60 (1875), and the Friendly Society Act passed in Barbados, 1880, sec. 8.

161. See, Friendly Societies Act, 1891--65, sec. 24 (3-8) and 1904--3, secs. 61-5.

162. The reluctance and resistance to amalgamation and to other 'rational' business practices are also noted for Grenada's friendly societies well into the 1960s, L. P. Fletcher, 'The Decline of Friendly Societies in Grenada: Some Economic Aspects,' *Caribbean Studies* 12: 2 (July 1972), 106-07.

163. MCA 1904-05, doc. 37, Petition of Teachers' Association to the House of Assembly, pp 7-8.

164. McLellan, *Some Phases of Barbados Life*, 34.

165. A. F and D. Wells, *Friendly Societies in the West Indies* (London:HMSO, 1953), 61-2.

166. Only rather more slowly in the 1940s did a few societies in Barbados and the other territories adopted this agenda. A. F. Wells, *Friendly Societies in the West Indies* (London: Colonial Office, 1949), 47-8; Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 247, 268 n. 28.

167. 'Pickles', 'Inter Alia', *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 2 Jan. 1909, 7.

168. Ibid.

169. Banton notes the practice of fitting a mast like that of a British warship on some of the houses in Kru Town Sierra Leone, c. 1894. Many Kru men were seamen and some benefit societies organized by women and others by men were divided into 'ships'. See Michael Banton, *West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 188-89.

170. Barbadian men would have been among the many colonial seamen employed on various vessels including those of the British merchant navy. West Indians, Africans and Asians were often to be found residing in British port towns. For example, 'Tiger Bay' in Cardiff became one of the earliest places of settlement for black West Indians in Britain in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

171. Interview with Capt. Vernon Watson of the Barbados Landship, 11 July 1991.

172. Some commentators have suggested that 'stars' might have only been included after 1914 following the example of Marcus Garvey's U.N.I.A.

173. The word, 'Tuk', 'tuck' or 'took' is apparently of Scottish origin, and means, 'a blow, a stroke , a tap; esp. in tuck of drum.' *Oxford English Dictionary*, (1963 ed.); J. Graham Cruickshank, 'Negro English, With Reference Particularly to Barbados' *Timehri* 1: 2, third series (July 1911), 106.

174. For a description of convivial activities in English rural friendly societies, see David Neave, *East Riding Friendly Societies* (North Humberside: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1988), 28-40; Dave Bathe, 'Oddfellows and Morris Dancing in a Peak District Village', *Folk Music Journal*, 5: 1, (1985), 4-47.

175. See, Jerome S. Handler and Charlotte J. Frisbee, 'Aspects of Slave Life in Barbados: Music and its Cultural Context', *Caribbean Studies*, 11: 4 (1972), 22.

176. The 'wangle low' was a semi-limbo dance in which hands were held akimbo and knees bent. ''Wangle', perhaps an altered form of 'Waggle'...to shake any part of the body' *OED*, (1963 ed.)

177. Some 'ships' were definitely registered societies up to 1901. Probably, societies such as the 'Ship Nelson' and 'Naval Victory' were landships. Nevertheless, any attempt to distinguish types of societies by the nature of their names is unreliable. Whereas it is possible to distinguish affiliated lodges by titles of their offices (e.g. Grand Master, Chief Ranger etc.) in the surviving rules in the BDA, the same is not true of landships. Given the official hostility to the convivial expressions of the landship, it was unlikely that any rules with an officer designated as 'Admiral' etc. would have been approved by the registrar.

178. MLC, 23 April 1895, Despatch from the Marquess of Ripon, 11 Jan., 1895. For English Act, see 57 & 58 VICT. c. 45, (25 Aug., 1894), 'An Act to Regulate and Restrict the Wearing of Naval and Military Uniforms.'

179. DHA, 25 June 1895.

180. Ibid.

181. 'House of Assembly,' *Times*, Sat., 29 June 1895.

182. 1895--3, Uniforms and Military Desertion (Prevention) Act.

183. 'Breach of the Friendly Society Act', *Agricultural Reporter,* Wed., 18 Sept. 1901, 3.

184. ''Commander" Leon Marshall,' *First Person Plural: A Series of Autobiographies* ([Barbados: Comcarc, 1984]), 237-39, in BDA.

185. 'Breach of the Friendly Society Act', *Agricultural Reporter,* Wed., 18 Sept. 1901, 3.

186. MCA 1901-02, doc. 160, 'His Excellency the Governor to the House of Assembly', 8 Jan., 1902, with Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Half-year, July-Dec. 1901. See also, PP 1902 (cd.788-38) Barbados Blue Book Report, 1901-02, p. 37.

187. Ibid.

188. Hodgson was initiated as a Freemason on 16 Dec. 1902, St. Michael's Lodge Minutes, 16 Dec. 1902; United Grand Lodge of England Manuscripts, St. Michael's Lodge 2253, Return 14 March 1903. For details and illustrations of Masonic initiation ritual, see James Dewar, *The Unlocked Secret: Freemasonry Examined* (London: William Kimber, 1966), 126-45.

189. *Grand Lodge of Scotland Registration Book,* vol. 16, 880.

190. Roger D. Abrahams, *The Man of Words in the West Indies: Performance and the Emergence of Creole Culture*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

191. PP 1902 (cd.788-38), Barbados Blue Book Report for 1901-02, p. 37.

192. Schimdt, *Fraternal Organizations*, 9.

193. *Agricultural Reporter,* Wed., 18 Sept. 1901, p. 3.

194. C. A. Bartlett, *Further "Links with the Past"* (Barbados: n.p. 1927), 18.

195. George Bernard, *Wayside Sketches: Pen Pictures of Barbadian Life* (Barbados: 1985 rept.), 16.

CHAPTER 4

THE LIMITS OF BROTHERHOOD

The efflorescence of benevolent and mutual-aid institutions was undoubtedly stimulated by the economic hardships faced by the working classes in the post-emancipation era. However, mutuality was certainly not exclusive to marginalised blacks, but was in common with an ideology of the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man postulating that all (men at least) were created equal and shared a common bond. These ideals became embodied in the constitutions and aims of various fraternal clubs in Britain by the early eighteenth century, especially Freemasonry and subsequently other benefit orders. By the late eighteenth century conspiracy theories abounded in Europe concerning the 'levelling' and revolutionary impact of fraternal 'secret' orders.[1]

Conspiracy theories, the fruit of fertile and not-so-fertile imaginations, are still hatched today in the face of the resilience of some surviving secret fraternities. Professional historiography of the movement, especially outside continental Europe, is still minuscule or relegated to antiquarian interest. It is certainly the case that much of their history has been embedded in historical myth, yet, as Roberts points out, it is precisely that mythology which has gripped the imagination with 'such long-lived consequences.'[2] It is the juxtaposition of myth, ritually and didactically generated, alongside objective social realities which provides an insight to the symbolic and cultural construction of hegemony and counter-hegemony in Barbados society.

Freemasonry

Freemasonry spread to the British West Indies in the eighteenth century through members of the British armed forces, merchants and planters. The oldest Lodge in London (Original Lodge No.1) was renamed the West India and American Lodge, apparently because its membership consisted largely of persons with interests in the Americas, including men from Barbados.[3] The first Masonic lodge, the St. Michael's Lodge 186, was founded in Barbados under the auspices of the Premier ('Moderns') Grand Lodge of England on 12 March 1740 by Alexander Irvine (1694-1743).[4] A Provincial Grand Lodge

was founded in the same year, and by 1791, six other lodges were operating under its jurisdiction. The Grand Lodge of Athol ('Antients') warranted the Albion 263 (later 196) as its first Barbadian lodge in December 1790,[5] and established three others by 1804.[6]

The first lodge in the island under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland was established in October 1783 and five others were founded subsequently, but none survived past 1858.[7] Scotia 267, founded in November 1799 was the first lodge under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.[8] but became dormant after the great hurricane of 1831.[9] Another lodge of the same name was launched in 1844 out of a secession from Albion, and received a warrant by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.[10] By 1880, The Albion 196 under the United Grand Lodge of England, and the Scotia 340 affiliated to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, were the two surviving Craft Masonic Lodges in Barbados.[11]

Affiliated or Benefit Lodges

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the organization of the affiliated benefit orders, or the 'poor man's masonry' in Barbados. Again, like Freemasonry, their origins are rooted in colonial contact. The St. Michael's Lodge which was a branch of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, the largest benefit order in England, was established in Bridgetown between 1840 and 1843.[12] It was followed by two Courts of the Ancient Order of Foresters; Court Western Star established in 1846 and St. Michael Diamond in 1847.[13] In the 1880s smaller lodges like the Myrtle Flower of the British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners, (1887),[14] the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity, (1888),[15] and the Livesey Comet Lodge of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows in 1891 were founded.[16]

The benefit lodges drew their members from among the urban-based petty merchants, artisans, teachers, lower-level civil servants, commercial clerks, and some sections of the upper working class which excluded the agro-proletariat and casual labourers. Freemasonry too became the preserve of Bridgetown-based merchants, clerks, professionals, soldiers, civil servants and government officials, but also included in its membership, some planters from the rural areas.

Fraternal Ideology

Nineteenth-century fraternalism was built upon residual ideas of the Enlightenment which formally espoused an idealized brotherhood of man. Although employing Judaeo-Christian canons, history and symbolism, fraternities were generally latitudinarian, consciously seeking to transcend narrow religious sectarianism and political partisanship. The *Constitutions* and Landmarks[17] of Freemasonry embodied these ideas. Freemasons were charged, 'Let a man's religion or mode of worship be what it may, he is not excluded from the order, provided he believe [sic] in the glorious architect of heaven and earth, and practise the sacred duties of morality.'[18] In his relationship to the state, the Freemason was required to be 'a peaceable subject to the civil powers, wherever he resides or works.'[19]

Politics and religion were not to be discussed in lodge as these topics were felt to be divisive. The Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity declared: 'Religion is held sacred within its [lodges'] precincts, politics are not discussed....'[20] Similarly, the Ancient Order of Foresters stated that 'the harmony of our courts is never allowed to be endangered by the introduction of these topics.'[21] The aim was to create a fraternal egalitarianism on latitudinarian lines. A candidate for Masonic initiation, as an Entered Apprentice, leaves his watch, ring, cufflinks and other valuables in the anteroom of the lodge and enters the lodge blindfolded as 'a poor candidate in a state of darkness.'[22] Symbolically this meant that his class and rank in the outside world no longer counted. Likewise, the Foresters indicated that 'each individual has equal rights and privileges; merit alone is the medium through which posts of honour may be arrived at.'[23]

These high principles of egalitarianism and latitudinarianism had some impact on evolving class and ethnic relations in Barbados as elsewhere. For example, Jews were accepted as Freemasons in Barbados (as elsewhere) from the eighteenth century, despite the socio-political discrimination they endured in Britain and her possessions.[24] The *Constitutions* of Freemasonry stipulated that only 'Free Born' persons were eligible for membership. However, by 1823, the Grand Lodge of England and of Ireland were being called upon to reconsider the interpretation of this clause, as free blacks and coloureds agitated to gain access to this premier fraternity.[25]

The capacity of fraternalism to transcend the deep social cleavages in Barbados was difficult indeed, for by the late nineteenth brotherhoods were still vehicles creating and

reinforcing social distance while ritually obfuscating that fact. For example, in 1881 two coloured Past Masters of the Masonic fraternity, Mark Wilson and John William Williams, were reprimanded by officials of the Albion Lodge for appearing in public in Masonic jewels in the company of representatives from the Foresters and other friendly societies.[26] The occasion was the presentation of an address signed by five hundred persons to Bishop John Mitchinson on the eve of his departure from Barbados. Mitchinson chaired the Education Commission between 1874 and 1875 and the Poor Relief Commission between 1875 and 1877. The implementation of the recommendations of these Commissions resulted in the establishment of a liberal education system, the passage of a new Poor Law Bill and a Friendly Societies Act. The address was in appreciation 'for the interests His Lordship had manifested in educational matters in the carrying out of which the Legislature was induced to vote the expenditure of a large sum of money.'[27] It is true that Williams and Wilson may have violated Masonic procedure by appearing in public in Masonic jewels without permission,[28] but the objection was more fundamental than that. By showing solidarity with the working-class mutual-aid fraternal bodies, these two renegade Masons had placed Freemasonry,

> on a level with sundry Friendly Societies, which are purely represented by the lower classes [and] any alliance therefore with such societies can only tend to reflect discredit on the fraternity in general, and on the Lodge in Barbados in particular.[29]

The complete disassociation with other fraternal movements was not a position which had always been sustained by Freemasonry in Barbados, and certainly not by Williams and Wilson. For example, in 1867, two or three Freemasons from the Bridgetown mercantile sector attended an anniversary dinner of the St. Michael's Lodge of Oddfellows.[30] Almost a decade later a new Oddfellows lodge, the Amity, opened at the old Masonic Hall in Bridgetown. Again, in March 1880, John Williams himself convened a meeting at Freemason Hall to organize a friendly society for Bridgetown clerks.[31] Wilson and Williams were among the coloured middle class who were dominant in, and had long identified with the affiliated and community friendly societies and were prepared to defy their white colleagues in Albion in making this identification.

News of Albion's censure was 'leaked' to the press, and provided an opportunity to discuss publicly some of the claims of the Craft, much to the consternation of Freemason officials. The unauthorized public demonstration of two of their members was bad enough

but a public debate on Freemasonry was potentially worse. 'A Mason' argued that 'State Education was inseparable from Politics,' therefore the presentation of an address by Freemasons to the Bishop in honour of his contribution to education was a violation of Freemasonic principles.[32] If that was the case queried another correspondent, did the Masons petition the legislature concerning scholarships? [33] It was this kind of public debate that Freemasonry had tended to avoid and responses to 'anti-Masonic attacks' were rare. In this way Freemasons could console themselves that challenges from outsiders were based on ignorance, and the avoidance of polemical debates reinforced the mystique of the fraternity.

The benefit lodges too sought to protect their own distinctiveness from the local community friendly societies. They prided themselves in their affiliation with orders based in the Mother Country and operated under general rules of the metropolitan bodies. A couple of years after the passage of the 1905 Friendly Society Act, which had been intended to bring all registered friendly societies under stricter control, a number of the lodges which were not already incorporated, petitioned the legislature for their own Acts of incorporation.[34] In expressing his support for the incorporation of the Myrtle Flower Lodge of the British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners, Mr. Reece informed his colleagues in the Assembly that the Lodge was not avoiding the scrutiny of the registrar in Barbados but that societies like the Gardeners were unlike the other local friendly societies with 'hundreds and thousands of members who put up large sums of money to divide at the end of the year in bonuses and sick relief and things of that sort.'[35] Instead, these benefit lodges were of a restricted membership and 'consisted of forty or fifty of the better class of labouring men - people of the class of stevedores, ship carpenters, Master carpenters and men of that class -.'[36] Moreover, literacy was a *sine qua non* for membership and their secret signs and symbols created a fraternal bond which 'was a tie between them more than putting up money.'[37]

The pride which lower middle class fraternalists had in their own distinctiveness and superiority over their working class brothers translated itself in their beneficent oversight over the latter. Fitzherbert Adams, head teacher of St. Giles which was one of the island's largest elementary schools in St. Michael, illustrates the point. Adams, like many of his colleagues, was able to establish his position in the island's middle class and had one of the rare distinctions as a black man to marry Rosa Frances Turney, a middle-class white woman of Castle Grant Plantation. One of his sons and a grandson were to become

Barbados Scholars and read law in England. The former became the first Premier of Barbados and Prime Minister of the Federation of the West Indies; the grandson rose to become the second Prime Minister of Barbados after Independence.[38] According to the *Ancient Order of Foresters' Directories*, Fitzherbert Adams held the position of Corresponding Secretary for the Barbados District from about 1895 to 1910. In addition to these duties, he provided management assistance to the Go-A-Head, the Nationalist and My Lord's Hill Friendly Societies.[39]

'Race', as much as class, conspired to set the limits of brotherhood. Blacks and coloureds had gained entry into Freemasonry in Barbados and were especially predominant in the Scotia Lodge under the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Albion too, as the only English Freemason Lodge by 1880, also had among its membership a few coloured persons, but its leadership viewed non-whites as a threat to Freemasonry. In a communication to the United Grand Lodge of England in 1883 the Master of Albion took the bizarre action of offering an unsolicited report on the Scotia Lodge, over which the Grand Lodge in England surely had no jurisdiction. While reporting in glowing terms the progress of Albion, it was noted that Scotia was 'composed almost exclusively of Colored Men, two or three holding fair positions in the community, the rest no position whatever.'[40] By implication, this report yoked the issue of colour and class position. This was apparently one of the features of Scotia which portended the undermining of the 'interest of Masonry.'[41] The report also accused the men of Scotia of undignified internal politics in the quest for Lodge offices, and worse of all, the affairs of the Lodge was conducted in the public domain.[42]

Although Scotia and Albion had for a number of years shared the expenses of the Masonic building in Bridgetown, a social partition seemed to have been fixed between their respective memberships. So while superficially, fraternal brotherhood and cooperation seemed alive - 'Scot's Masons' and 'English Masons,' blacks and coloureds with whites - secretly the leaders of Albion were expressing the view that their melanin-skin neighbours were inferior Craftsmen. In 1886 J. Jabez Warner, a past Master of the Harmonic Lodge (English) in the Danish West Indies, was proposed by Colonel John Elliot, Master of Albion, but was blackballed. Wilson, a past Master of Albion, noted that Warner was 'in possession of the very best testimonials from his lodge but unfortunately for him, he happens to be a Coloured gentleman.'[43] A subsequent Masonic Trial revealed that John W. Williams was the culprit who black-balled Warner 'only on account of his colour.'[44] This was remarkable indeed because Williams was listed among the 'prominent colored

men' in Barbados.[45] Williams had been an elected vestryman in St. Michael since 1880 and was Sanitary Commisioner for the parish until his death in 1919.[46] Perhaps, Warner who came to Barbados as a clerk of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company was not 'prominent' enough or probably his hue may not have been sufficiently fair. Whatever the full explanantion may have been, John Williams recanted from his position and almost with a self-redeeming zeal joined Mark Wilson in canvassing for a new Lodge in Barbados to accommodate more men of colour.[47]

The whole affair served only to bring in the open the delicate issue of racism and colour prejudice which existed but was so often kept out of respectable discussion. Scotia Lodge had been closed because of its internal problems and the obvious discrimination in Albion meant that a number of coloured Masons would have been without a lodge. Behind the scenes Wilson, now Corresponding Secretary of Albion, was acting privately to get a former lodge reopened or a new one started.[48] Wilson and the repentant Williams, his former accomplice in the 'Mitchinson affair,' proceeded to canvass members of the Bridgetown mercantile sector to pledge their support for another lodge. Prospective candidates were informed of the 'tyrannical prejudices against coloured men'[49] in the Albion. J. C. Pilgrim, an accountant who was canvassed as a prospective member of the proposed lodge, was at the time Provincial Corresponding Secretary of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, Assistant Secretary of the Ancient Order of Druids, and also a member of the Ancient Order of Foresters.[50] This was the clearest indication that Wilson and Williams were committed to recruitment from the lesser fraternities in spite of their previous censure by the Masonic brethren. Unconventionally, Wilson made an open call in a series of notices carried in the local press to those interested in 'a lodge which will gladly welcome the different ranks and degrees of men who have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner, whatever their rank in social life may be, irrespective of class or color.'[51] Freemasonry's own ideology was being redeployed against the racial barriers which existed in the local fraternity.

The recrudescence of the issue of racial discrimination in fraternal culture, occurred at a time when some of the major orders in Britain were engaged in a debate with their counterparts in the United States on the same issue. After a prolonged debate between 1875 and 1888, the Ancient Order of Foresters in Britain took a different line from the intransigent discrimination of the Americans and resolved that 'no subsidiary High Court or District shall have power to prevent the admittance of any man to membership on

account of his colour, creed or nationality.'[52] Some years before, a correspondent to the *Agricultural Reporter* stated that 'the members of the American order in this City will now be relieved of any anxiety they have felt at having any "woolly-headed" members of the Manchester Unity visiting their Lodge.'[53]

The United Grand Lodge of England had long decided to recognise black Freemasons, even though whites in the United States refused to admit them. However, if another lodge was to be established in the same territory where one already existed, then the blessing of the preexisting one was required. In the case of an English Masonic lodge the petition required the support of at least seven 'English' Masons, supported by the Master and Wardens of an English registered lodge.[54] The petition for the proposed new Masonic lodge gained the required number of signatures, including five past Masters of Albion, five members of the suspended Scotia Lodge, and J. Jabez Warner himself, Master-designate.[55] The current Master and Wardens of Albion refused to assent and instead supported a duplicate petition in favour of a lodge to be established under the Grand Lodge of Scotland's jurisdiction, even though the preference was clearly for an English Lodge.[56] Wilson confided that support for the proposed English lodge was not given because 'gentlemen of colour' were to be members.[57] In defence of their actions the Master and Wardens of Albion sought to assure the Masonic officials in London that they were not motivated by colour prejudice but had misgivings about the proposed lodge's willingness to consider 'candidates as members without reference to class, creed or colour.'[58] It was no secret that the new lodge had been intended to accommodate members of the suspended Scotia Lodge, and 'experience has taught us that, the interest of the Order in Barbados suffered at their hands.'[59]

The Albion officials received a reprimand from the Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England who found their 'irregular' actions unjustified.[60] Therefore, ignoring the prejudices of the Albion officials, Grand Lodge in London warranted the new Victoria Lodge 2196 under its constitution on 18 March 1887.[61] Another belated attempt to clarify their positions, served only to illustrate the way that racial discrimination was compounded by anglocentrism. In a more frank response, Bayley, Outram and Gill admitted that they knew the proposed new lodge was to facilitate the 'Scotch Masons' from the Scotia Lodge which had been closed. Since Albion was not prepared to receive them, and not to be 'accused of being uncharitable in admitting them nor assisting them in obtaining a lodge for themselves,' the Scotch Petition was recommended.[62] Moreover,

'because the Scotch Constitution allow [sic] for greater laxity', it was 'more suited to the class of members that was likely to join the Lodge.'[63] The implication of their statement was clear: Scottish (and for that matter, Irish) Freemasonry was considered by them to be inferior and therefore better suited to the non-whites of Barbados.[64]

Table 4.1. Men Initiated or Affiliated in Freemason Lodges in Barbados, 1880-1914.

Occupations	Albion ER 1880-1914		Victoria ER 1887-1914		St. Michael ER 1888-1914		Scotia 340 SC 1880-1914	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Govt. Service	21	8.9	4	2.5	16	9.6	9	5.4
Planters	17	7.2	8	4.9	8	5.1	8	4.8
Merchants	36	15.3	21	13.0	20	12.8	18	10.8
Other Proprietors	7	3.0	7	4.3	-	-	5	3.0
Clerks	48	20.3	32	19.8	8	15.1	48	28.9
Mgr/Accountants	10	4.2	7	4.3	7	4.5	-	-
Barristers	12	5.1	5	3.1	8	5.1	5	3.0
Physicians	6	2.5	5	3.1	9	5.8	4	2.4
Clergymen	6	2.5	-	-	9	5.8	-	-
Other Professions	17	7.2	19	11.7	11	7.1	22	13.2
Policemen	1	.4	2	1.2	4	2.6	1	.6
Soldiers	26	11.0	20	12.3	37	23.6	5	3.0
Mariners	6	2.5	18	11.1	2	1.3	21	12.6
Teachers	6	2.5	2	1.2	6	3.8	4	2.4
Artisans	3	1.3	3	1.9	-	-	5	3.0
Misc. /Unknown	13	5.5	7	4.3	10	6.4	10	6.0

Source: UGLE 196; 2196; 2253; GLSRBs

Table 4.1 above gives a clear illustration of initiation and affiliation patterns in the three English Lodges and the Scotia Lodge. The St. John's Lodge and the Thistle Lodge were established under the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1906 and 1909 respectively, but they are excluded from this table due to their 'late' start, and the problem of making

adequate comparison with the established lodges. The very large percentage of merchant clerks and merchants themselves, illustrate the socio-cultural ascendancy of the urban mercantile community. Moreover, it represents a typical hegemonic bloc consisting of a cross-class fraternity of elite and 'lesser' whites strengthening themselves ethnically and culturally. An even closer examination of the membership structure of Freemasonry indicates that white expatriate soldiers were also key figures in bolstering local white cultural hegemony. According to Table 4.2.. the members of the British military were joining the Masonic lodges at a greater rate than any other group. To appreciate this one needs to examine the figures up to the time the soldiers withdrew to St. Lucia between 1905-06. Thereafter, no soldier is listed as joining any local lodge up to 1914

Table 4.2. Occupations of Men Admitted to English Freemasonry, 1880-1905

Occupations	Number	%	
Soldiers	83	19.6	
Merchants	47	11.1}	
Clerks	31	7.3}	18.4
Public Service	30	7.1	
Mariners	19	4.5	
Planters	18	4.2	

Source: UGLE 196; 2196; 2253, Returns, 1880-1905.

The military and navy played a key role in spreading and revitalizing Freemasonry globally.[65] In Barbados, as elsewhere in the Empire, Freemasonry provided a focus for the social interaction of the white British military and official classes and the local elite, thus strengthening the bonds of empire.[66] Military officers did not occupy many leading positions in the local fraternity, but this may have been due to the exigencies of military service rather than any prejudice against military officers, by civilian Barbadian Masons as one soldier alleged.[67] The Barbados ruling classes were appreciative of the way in which the military served as a conduit through which British imperial culture could wield its hegemonic influence over society as a whole. This was clearly articulated in a petition to the King from the Barbados House of Assembly seeking a reversal of the decision of

the Colonial Office to remove the troops from Barbados. The petition noted:

> The continuous association of British soldiers with numbers of the inhabitants has been the means of keeping in touch with the ideas and manners of the parent state a considerable proportion of a people who are specially amenable to such influences, and of imparting fresh stimulus to those essentially English feelings and ways of life which several capable and impartial observers have declared to be a conspicuous attribute of this Colony. The House of Assembly cannot but view with anxious concern the possible loss of this most valuable, social and moral influence.[68]

The achievement of some measure of cross-class co-fraternity did not preclude subtle intra-fraternal social boundaries. For example, the St. Michael Lodge warranted on the 17 March 1888, was founded as a sharper focus of British white expatriate elitism, allied with the elite creoles. Its principal founder was Colonel John Elliot, Inspector General of Police in Barbados. He was a former officer of a few Masonic lodges in Devonshire, England, and had achieved the Masonic rank of Provincial Grand Senior Warden before coming to Barbados. He was admitted to Albion on 6 August 1884[69] and was advanced meteorically to the chair a year later. Elliot had given his blessing to the formation of Victoria to accommodate more persons of colour in 1887. He consecrated it himself and became its first honorary member.[70]

Nevertheless, a year later Elliot took steps to organize what would become the most elitist of the Masonic lodges. On the 3 January 1888 Elliot convened a meeting at his office at the Police Headquarters, Bridgetown, to which he invited Captain Robert Macaulay; Robert Haynes, the protonotary; John Locke, the manager of the Colonial Bank; C. C. Knollys, the Colonial Secretary; C. A. King-Harman, the Auditor General; R. J. Clinckett, the Official Consignee; and William Parker Leacock, merchant and member of the Legislative Council.[71] An additional five persons were nominated as founder-members: W. Herbert Greaves, the Solicitor General; Isaac Kirton-Brown, Controller of Customs; Rev. Clark-Holman, Anglican cleric, G. W. Carrington, solicitor and William T. Armstrong, police magistrate.[72] The founder-membership reflected a combination of the top English expatriates serving in the Colony along with some of the illustrious local elite. The £10 required of founder-members to establish this lodge was more than twice the amount which the organizers of Victoria had required.[73]

A very significant feature of this proposed lodge was its unanimity rule which required: 'That Brethren desirous of proposing an individual for initiation or admission to

the Lodge as a joining Member will - prior to any proposition on the subject being brought before the Lodge - assure himself that the person to be proposed is one who will be unanimously acceptable to the Brethren.'[74] This rule was intended to avoid the problems experienced in the Albion when Warner was blackballed, and those of the newly founded Victoria Lodge which followed the blackballing of two of its candidates who had contributed initiation fees and had been promised admission.[75] This provision enabled the members of St. Michael to be highly discriminatory about its membership, and yet boast of perfect fraternal harmony in the process. As the Lodge's historian has noted, the unanimity rule by which that Lodge still operates has enabled them to work in 'peace, love and harmony' without a single recorded case of blackballing.[76] The lodge could boast the membership of two governors who joined before 1914, a local bishop of the Church of England, and thirty-seven officers of the British military. Its number of clerks was significantly lower than the other Freemason lodges, and no artisan was admitted up to 1914.

The fact of Elliot's own military background may have been responsible partly for the attraction of such a high corp of military officers to St. Michael's. Elliot first entered the Royal Navy in 1838, saw action in a number of conflicts and was highly decorated. In 1869 he retired on full pay having been made a colonel of the army. He was called to the bar in 1874 and variously served as a Justice in British Guiana and acted as Administrator of the governments of St. Vincent and Grenada.[77] At the time of the launching of St. Michael's Lodge, he was sixty-four and the 'grand old man' of local Masonry.

The association of British military officers went beyond common professional interest with the founder but, as has been indicated, represented the reassertion of white British expatriates of their social and cultural superiority over the Barbadian creoles. This elitism did not escape public scrutiny and comment. An unnamed correspondent reporting on Elliot's installation as District Master in May 1890, observed that there were but few members of the other lodges in attendance. After the formalities of the installation Elliot and his invited friends went off to his barracks to drink the chilled champagne that awaited them. The correspondent noted:

> But, strange to say, notwithstanding this Masonic demonstration, this wide-spread feeling of brotherly love and affection, only one or two members of the working lodges in this island were present, the visitors being represented

principally by some of the officers of St. Ann's Garrison and other strangers in the island. It would seem almost a misnomer to call the banquet, Masonic, as it partook more of a social club meeting of a few selected individuals, were it not that the slight element of Freemasonry had been apparent by a few Masonic toasts... Freemasonry is universal, composed of mixed materials...But the Colonel and his friends do not seem to understand that particular part of the question, and that the Masonic benefits and obligations are not confined to one class of individuals, but extend to men of every condition of life through the civilised world.[78]

Although fraternities were very conscious of maintaining social boundaries, a measure of cross-class relationships were evident, if not at the local lodge level at the district or national level. As has been seen, unlike the United States, colour could not be used to exclude upwardly respectable blacks. The unequivocal stance by the British Orders against race as a qualification for membership meant that blacks and coloureds could and did gain warrants to establish their lodges. What this meant was that lodges in the British Empire were less likely to be vehicles for perpetuating racial solidarity than those in the United States. For instance, in 1901 the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity decided to feature the portrait of John Christopher Cordle of Barbados in its periodical. He was the second prominent colonial Oddfellow to be given this honour. Cordle, a black Barbadian, was a retired school teacher who once served as a Past Grand Master of the St. Michael's Oddfellow's Lodge had been the corresponding secretary for Barbados for thirty years, and was instrumental in assisting the opening of lodges in Jamaica and Trinidad. The decision to accord him this honour was said to illustrate, 'that the Manchester Unity recognises no distinction of creed or colour. We appraise the man by his worth and his work.'

It was this kind of declared policy of the Orders in Britain which made it very difficult for the fraternities in Barbados to deny access to anyone explicitly on racial grounds. Individual lodges could refuse to accept the nomination of individuals to membership, but could do little to prevent a warrant being approved by the parent bodies in Britain to establish new lodges. Clearly individual lodge membership tended to be socially homogeneous; for example, expatriate and elite whites in St. Michael, middle-class whites in the Albion, and middle-class coloureds and blacks in Victoria and the Scottish Lodges. These social barriers were not impenetrable.

Indeed the 'visiting' which took place between Masons of different Lodges and constitutions blunted the edge of discrimination. A kind of quasi-ecumenical convention

was practised in Masonry whereby Masons were normally free to visit other regular Lodges without having to be members. For example, on the evening of Tuesday 20 January 1903, the secretary of St. Michael's Lodge recorded a 'report'[79] followed by the entry of the visiting brother from Scotia, the coloured headmaster of Roebuck Boys', Fitzgerald Clairmonte Roberts and the outstanding organizer of working-class friendly societies.[80] His friend, colleague and fellow friendly society manager, Robert Montgomery Cummins, also got his opportunity to be ushured into the hallowed temple of St. Michael's on 14 May 1908.[81] On the occasion of anniversaries and convocation, Masons, both 'English' and 'Scottish,' got together in fraternal harmony. Similar relations existed between the kindred lodges like the Oddfellows and Foresters. Fraternalism, then, could preserve social hierarchy and exclusivity, but mask these culturally through various rituals and conventions of openness and brotherhood. No amount of ritual or convention could mask the sexist orientation of fraternalism.

Fraternalism, Gender and Family Life

Clawson, in her examination of fraternal orders in nineteenth-century United States, argues that of all the factors of solidarity and exclusiveness in these associations, 'gender has been the most centrally and consistently used.'[82] Ritually, a 'fictive kinship' and 'quasi-familial ties' are constructed.[83] The analysis of gender within fraternal culture must focus both on the marginalization of women in that culture as well as the construction of manhood. Lynn Dumenil, again dealing specifically with Freemasonry in the United States, notes that 'the most striking aspects of the lodge meeting was its maleness.'[84] These statements are equally applicable to the various British fraternities in Barbados and more especially the Masonic lodges. 'Regular' British Freemason Lodges today, remain women-free zones.[85]

Carnes postulates that the themes of patriarchy and masculinity in the rituals of fraternal orders served to provide 'solace and psychological guidance' through the difficulty of the passage to middle-class manhood in Victorian United States.[86] His attempt to explore fraternalism's link with middle-class child-rearing practices is interesting, but difficult to establish. Rich has demonstrated the integration of Freemasonry in the ethos of many English Public Schools,[87] but there is no evidence to link fraternalism in Barbados with the socialization of youth. Of all the masons 'made' between 1880 and

1914 in Barbados, four were under twenty-one; one was eighteen years and three were nineteen years old.[88] In April 1889 in St. Michael's, a dispensation to initiate the son of Valdemar Hanschell before his twenty-first birthday was sought but not pursued.[89] Up to 1914 the average initiation age for Albion was thirty-two, for Victoria it was thirty-six, and for both St. Michael and Scotia, it was thirty-three. Barbadian fraternities were bastions of manliness, but no evidence exists to suggest that they provided a 'solace' or even a rite of passage for middle-class boys. However, they may have served to confirm and consolidate cultural constructions of manhood *already* formulated by other boyhood socialisation agencies such as the elite schools.

Fraternities generally, but Freemasonry especially, perpetuated middle-class concepts of the family and domesticity. Freemasonry promoted a sexual division of labour; the man as breadwinner and the woman as wife and home maker. It is not surprising that middle and upper class women were more likely to find themselves as objects of charity than their sisters of the working, or lower middle class. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, as the economic depression led to the failure of many small mercantile establishments and small plantations in Barbados, a class of 'genteel poor' emerged. Widowed women of this group (in the main white) were especially vulnerable. Unless a proposal of matrimony could be secured from a white gentleman, subsistence on a charity pension or emigration to North America were the options available.

Fraternal institutions were a very important part of the charity network to assist the widows and children of the middle and upper classes. A widow could occasionally petition the lodge of her late spouse for help. The widow of Edward Gascoigne Watts appealed to the St. Michael's Lodge and was granted a pension of $5.00 (£1.10d.) per month from 1900 until her death in September 1906.[90] She was one of the 'genteel' poor. Her husband had been a representative of the parish of St. Philip in the House of Assembly from 1886 to 1894, and the receiver of the 75-acre Ivy Plantation in St. Michael which was subdivided and sold at 'fancy prices.'

Given the economic dependency which middle and upper-class family ideology fostered, fraternal charity assumed a patriarchal and neo-chivalrous construction, as men in fancy aprons, sashes and jewels charged to not-so-young-damsels and their orphans in economic distress. The reality however, was that a cross section of persons, both men and women, received benefits from time to time. An examination of the appeals received by the Freemasonic lodges show that men sought assistance as much as widows, although the

latter and their orphans were seen as more 'deserving'.[91] For example, F. B. Mann who had on a number of occasions sought pecuniary aid, was considered to be a 'deserving case' by the Master of St. Michael's, but Rev. Clark-Holman was worried that 'it was nothing more nor less than encouraging and upholding pauperism.'[92]

The benefit orders had also been committed to excluding women from their operations but this was a much more contested issue. There had been societies in the early nineteenth century organized by women but the male fraternities forbade their members from associating with such lodges. For example, one Order of Oddfellows in 1832 expelled a member for acting as secretary to a lodge of Odd Women citing the following resolution:

> That should any Brother or Brothers belonging to the Grand Order, persist in, or become in any way connected with Odd Women, or any other similar Female Secret Societies whatsoever; he or they so offending, we do most earnestly request (upon due proof) that Grand Lodge will expel them *from the Grand United Order for ever.*[93]

After just over 50 years of opposition to female membership, the Ancient Order of Foresters in 1887 mandated its Executive to draw up tables of contributions for women. By 1892 the order agreed to admit women as members, but within separate Courts.[94] For the first time in 1893 the Independent Order of Oddfellows approved a new general rule to give districts power to open and sponsor female branches[95] which were subsequently accorded full status as lodges at the Oxford Annual Moveable Committee in 1898.[96] These concessions reflected the stark reality that the partners of working and lower middle class men, were unlike their middle and upper-class sisters, employed and not full-time dependent housewives. Moreover, those organizations eschewed charity and dependency unlike Freemasonry.[97] The Oddfellows' Order taught its members 'to respect one another, and help themselves, without the degradation of receiving charity.'[98]

One of the first lodges established for women in Barbados was the Empress Victoria, established under the Improved Independent Order of Oddfellows, London Unity in 1886.[99] This lodge met separately from the brethren of the same order who were in the George and Victor Lodge.[100] According to the statistics of the *Blue Book* of 1888, this female lodge seemed to be outperforming its male counterpart, having a membership of sixty-five and just over £66 compared to twenty-four men in the Loyal George and Victor with a balance of just over £4.[101] In spite of some success by women in penetrating

benefit lodges, they remained, unlike their working-class sisters in the local friendly societies, divided from their men. More than any other club, the fraternal lodge provided a respectable shelter from women. Having overcome suspicions of sodomy and flagellation,[102] these men could pursue their bi-monthly gatherings for dinner, drinks, speeches and songs, with the assurance that their charitable work provided the necessary cloak of respectability.

Fraternalism and Social Influence

Fraternal orders prided themselves on having an extensive social influence. One District Grand Master reminded a gathering of Freemasons from Barbados and neighbouring islands that,

> the united body of Freemasons in this district possess very great influence and that influence which is entirely for good, can only be maintained so long as we number among us, individuals who are looked up to and regarded as representatives of the different stations of life in which they move. In that way we secure many of the best and most influential men in this group of islands and so obtain a unity of action which could not be obtained by any other means.[103]

Eight years later, in explaining the *raison d'etre* for the appointment of District Grand officers, he made it clear that it was his duty 'to maintain the status of Freemasonry in accordance with the example set by Grand Lodge [of England].' Qualifications for positions were to include, not only long service, but 'eminence, distinction and influence in the outside world.'[104]

The lower-middle class fraternities likewise sought social influence by securing elite patronage. The Ancient Order of Foresters, for example, was able to list proudly among its honorary members in 1891, forty-four peers, eight Bishops, one Dean, fifty-three Baronets, three Judges, thirty Knights and two hundred and fifty-one Members of Parliament.[105] In 1890 the two Foresters' Courts in Barbados had twenty-five honorary members, six in Western Star and nineteen in St. Michael Diamond.[106]

Following the dedication of their new lodge in August 1892, the officers of the Independent United Order of Mechanics attempted to recruit the vicar Rev. Watson to the order.[107] The *Globe* wrote approvingly in 1899 of the initiation of Thomas A. Wright,

the church warden of St. Michael's vestry, as an honorary member of the Myrtle Flower Lodge, British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners.[108] This was some twelve years after his rejection by the Victoria Freemasons.[109] The *Globe* noted '[n]ot only is this a great thing for the Free Gardeners in Barbados, but also for all kindred societies scattered throughout the island. Mr. Wright has set a noble example to others equally influential, and we trust his example will be followed.'[110]

It was not only the ability to secure local men of power but the imperial and international links which conferred significant influence to fraternities. In times of national disaster members of the various brotherhoods could expect the network of benevolence to be activated. As early as 1766 the Grand Master of the Freemasons ('Moderns') in England, confirmed the payment of £200 for the relief of Freemasons in Barbados, whose properties were lost or damaged extensively from the conflagration in Bridgetown in May of that year.[111] A debt of £14 was converted to a relief grant by the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows following the cholera epidemic in Barbados in 1854.[112]

Following the hurricane of September 1898 which left 85 people dead, 27 drowned offshore and 260 injured, as well as the flattening of an estimated 18000 houses, the Imperial government granted £40,000 plus an additional £18,000 from the Mansion House fund to Barbados.[113] One month later John Locke, the District Grand Master of Barbados, made a special appeal to the United Grand Lodge of England on behalf of the poor whites. He pointed out that the Mansion House Fund had greatly assisted blacks in the rehabilitation of their houses, but that the poor whites, many of whom were related to members of Albion and Victoria, suffered in silence because, 'they cannot mix with negroes.'[114] On the basis of this special pleading, the Grand Lodge readily contributed £500 in response to Locke's appeal.[115] The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, less well endowed, could not extend more than £34 to its affiliated lodge in Barbados, even though a fresh appeal had been made to the Grand Master of the order. The Livesey Comet Lodge which suffered £200 in damage during the hurricane received £25 from the Grand United Order of Oddfellows headquarters in England along with contributions from lodges in the British colonies and the United States.[116]

The value of this kind of international benevolence was illustrated elsewhere in the West Indies. Following a conflagration in Kingston, Jamaica on the 11 December 1882, the Albion Lodge in Barbados dispatched £12 to aid in the relief of their Freemason brethren[117] and Grand Lodge in London sent 100 guineas. The double disasters of

earthquake and fire struck Kingston again in 1907 on which occasion the Independent Order of Oddfellows contributed £500 in two disbursements,[118] the Ancient Order of Foresters, £100,[119] the United Grand Lodge of England, £1000[120] and the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 100 guineas.[121] The Oddfellows declared that it illustrated 'the effective way in which our Society links the homeland with the colonies.'[122]

There were also occasions when petitions for supplementing local personal relief met with favourable response in Britain. The widows of Williams and Poyer were each granted £10 by the United Grand Lodge of England in 1890 and 1892 respectively.[123] J. K. Valverde, a grocer of Jewish ancestry, was granted £30 by the Board of Benevolence of Grand Lodge in London, after explaining that he and his wife were chronically ill, with an unemployed son.[124] The following year Mr Walton, a merchant, also applied for relief to the Grand lodge and was granted £40.[125]

For the benefit fraternities the international network of lodges enabled relief to be secured when travelling in search of employment. This arrangement was especially important to artisans and seamen. Travelling brethren were expected to possess their membership certificate and contribution card, as well as knowledge of the appropriate password and grip, when they presented themselves to the relieving officer of another lodge of their order. The directories or handbooks of these orders usually gave specific instructions to their members when travelling, and among other things listed their relieving officers wherever lodges were established. The relieving officers of the Ancient Order of Foresters in Barbados were all living around Bridgetown.[126]

The fraternal network of influence was often invoked for more than pecuniary relief. In February 1887 ninety-two Freemasons, from both English and Scottish Constitutions in Barbados, petitioned the United Grand Lodge of England on behalf of William Seymour Bourne, a Barbadian merchant incarcerated at Dartmoor Prison.[127] Bourne had been arrested in London in possession of three blank forged bank notes and a lithographic stone designed for the printing of blank notes of the Colonial Bank.[128] He was sentenced to five years imprisonment, having not convinced the jury at the Central Criminal Court in London that the blank bank notes were to be used as novel advertisements for his business.[129] The Barbadian brethren wanted financial aid to assist the destitute Mrs Bourne and her five children to emigrate to America. In addition, in their words, 'we further pray you to exercise your influence in the proper quarter to obtain a remission of the remaining portion of Brother Bourne's imprisonment.'[130] The idea of a petition

seemed to have originated with the indefatigable Mark Wilson who, prompted by 'Divine Providence', thought it might be possible to have Bourne numbered among those whom Queen Victoria might be pleased to release in her Jubilee Year.[131]

There was nothing peculiarly inspirational about Wilson's idea. As early as 1804, during the Anglo-French wars in the Caribbean, Henry William Adamson who had been taken as a prisoner of war by the French, obtained an early release, after identifying himself as a member of the Fraternity to a French surgeon who was also a Mason. The surgeon wrote to Adamson:

> I waited this morning upon the Captain General, in order to obtain your liberty, I have now the pleasure to day, that, on my engaging your Parole of Honor, he frees you this very Day from Confinement, and promises in four or five days' more to send you to your Country.
>
> With pleasure I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, that tho' we lay it down as the first Duty of a Mason to be true to the laws, and to fight for his country, our second Rule is, that when the Battle is ended, those among our enemies who make themselves known to us are to be treated as Brothers, and we find real pleasure in affording them every Assistance in our Power....[132]

This correspondence had been offered in support of a request made two years later by the Masonic fraternity in Barbados to Governor Seaforth, to have a French Mason prisoner of war in the island released and return to Martinique or Guadeloupe.[133] Wilson was therefore seeking to have applied in Bourne's case a tradition well known in Freemasonry.[134] The Grand Lodge's own investigation convinced them that Bourne was a shady character. Some years before Bourne had been involved in an insurance suit in London, brought against the Standard Fire Office for refusing to pay a claim for the destruction of his business by fire. Bourne had been a merchant in British Guiana on that occasion and had been prosecuted for arson, but subsequently acquitted. The Standard refused to honour Bourne's claim on the ground of fraud but Bourne and his business partner won their case against the Standard.[135]

However, the facts did not suggest that Bourne was innocent this time. Also, given the grave nature of the case, any intervention would have necessitated an appeal to the Home Secretary. The advice given to Grand Lodge was that Bourne, 'was properly convicted and sentenced' and 'we cannot as Masons touch the case.'[136] The Grand Secretary noted: 'Bourne is an evident bad man: & I cannot think he deserves help. I am sorry for his wife & family: but this is not a case for the Zetland funds.'[137] Two months

later, John Trotman, auctioneer, advertised the sale of all of Mrs Bourne's household furnishing ahead of her imminent departure for the United States.[138] It would appear that many of the Masons who six years before had claimed that the presentation of an address to Mitchinson by Wilson and Williams was a political act, did not view the request for intervention in the judicial process of England in the same light.

The potential influence of Freemasonry was not lost even on those who were excluded from the inner working of the fraternity. In 1893 Olivia Williams the widow of Daniel Williams, a former Barbadian Freemason who died in the cholera epidemic of 1854, appealed to the Most Worshipful Grand Master himself, Prince Albert Edward to do something to help her reclaim extensive freehold property in Bridgetown which she alleged was illegally sold through the complicity of local solicitors and officials, who obstructed justice.[139] On four occasions between November 1890 and June 1891 she sent letters and petitions to the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the Colonial Office on this matter.[140] The responses were that the Secretary of State could not interfere in the decisions of the local law courts.[141] Mrs Williams seemed to be under the impression that the Masonic networks, of which her husband was once a part, could transcend both local and Colonial Office administration, particularly since the heir to the English throne was Grand Master.

Mrs Williams died in 1895 apparently not having had her problem resolved. Nevertheless, within a year, William Edward Williams her eldest son and alleged heir to the properties in question, renewed the crusade. Between July 1896 and 1897 Williams sent petitions and supporting documents to the Colonial Office, 'advise [sic] by gentlemen of the Masonic Fraternity, who are well wishers to my efforts....'[142] An investigation by the Attorney General revealed that the claims of the petitioner had been considered as far back as 1877 but were not upheld by the courts, and there did not not appear to be any legal basis for them now.[143] Again the Secretary of State could not interfere.[144]

This was not however to be the end of attempts by the Williams family to secure 'justice' as they saw it, nor to resort to the influence of Freemasonry in order to do so. With a succession of failures to get Colonial Office intervention in the local judicial process, the siblings - George, Samuel, James and Lydia Williams, - following the death of their brother William, appealed directly to the Grand Lodge of England. They requested Grand Lodge to facilitate a petition to King Edward VII (former Grand Master,) or to the Speaker of the House of Commons, concerning their family's case.[145] It is not clear on

what grounds such an extraordinary course of action could have been justified. The response (if any) to this correspondence is unknown, but clearly it did not meet with success because the siblings resorted to petitioning the Secretary of State between June 1903 and January 1904. Again, they were met with the now familiar decline to interfere.[146]

In 1902 another Barbadian family attempted to extricate itself from difficulty by appealing to the King and alluding to the Masonic link. Joseph Allamby, a Barbadian and former civil servant sent a petition dated 15 June 1902, 'To His Royal and Imperial Majesty Edward VII...' via the Colonial Office seeking a 'free pardon.'[147] Allamby claimed that following pulmonary illness and domestic trouble he had turned to drink, which eventually led him to appropriate a small some of money from the office of the junior magistrate for Bridgetown where he was employed. The theft was discovered before he could recompense and in panic he fled to the United States where he lived in exile for seven years, leaving behind his wife and children. Allamby 'successfully evaded extradition' having taken £35 of government money and costing the colony a further $421 in a failed extradition bid.[148] His wish was now to return to Barbados and be reunited with his family, a desire strengthened by the dismal prognosis of his surviving another winter in Rhode Island suffering from consumption.

There was nothing peculiar about a citizen of a British Colony appealing to the King for clemency and pardon on the eve of the coronation. However, Allamby took the time to mention in his petition that he was 'an active member of the Masonic Fraternity (Lodge Albion 196 E.R.) for over twenty (20) years,' information volunteered no doubt, to strike a responsive cord in the Grand Master, Prince Albert Edward.

After the failure of her husband's attempt, Kate Allamby sent a petition to King Edward VII the following year, this time, *direct* to the Palace. However, the Palace Secretary, appropriately sent the correspondence to the attention of the Colonial Office. This petition, like that of her husband, drew attention to his membership in the Masonic fraternity.[149] Colonial Office officials pointed out the 'irregular' procedure of Mrs Allamby, noting that such correspondence should be sent through the Governor, and in any case her husband should expect to return to face justice.[150] Undaunted, she sent another copy of her petition to 'Our Most Gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Alexandra.' Allamby claimed her inability 'to forward the Petition through the regular channels to our Most gracious Sovereign Lord, King Edward VII,' and no doubt thought that a sure way to get

the King's attention was through his wife. Of course all correspondence to the Royals went first to the Palace Secretary and therefore her endeavour was in vain.

These cases were not simply indications of naïveté. They do illustrate, if nothing else, the *perception* of those close to Masons that the fraternity had power and influence which could be invoked by virtue of its imperial and royal connection. There was nothing improper about a British subject appealing to the Crown for an exercise of clemency or pardon on occasions of a jubilee, coronation, or for that matter, in the absence of any such occasion. What is special about all of these cases is the appeal either directly or obliquely to the Masonic tie. Clearly a gulf existed between the perceptions and expectations on one hand and the reality on the other. The power and influence of the fraternity was clearly limited in what it could achieve. Nevertheless, stoic reticence and censure of public debate helped to foster and maintain an aura of mystery in the eyes of the community. It was this mystery which was perhaps the greatest strength of the fraternal orders in Barbados.

Ceremonial Ritualism and the Symbolic Construction of Colonial Order

In attempting to explore the ritual significance of fraternalism in Barbadian society from the late nineteenth century, it is important to acknowledge that fraternal rituals were often pre-Victorian and cannot be reduced merely to either 'Victorian' or capitalist-bourgeois ones. However, it is equally problematic to view fraternal rituals as immutable trans-historical and transcendent phenomena. Turner in his comparative study of symbols, rituals, and play, makes the point that '[e]ven when the symbolic is the *inverse* of the pragmatic reality, it remains intimately in touch with it....'[151] Cannadine has pointed to the need to avoid preoccupation with the form of ritual to the exclusion of the specific context.[152] Rituals are themselves dynamic and may acquire new significance or shed original meanings. The capacity to evaluate the extent to which ritual ceremony evoked particular feelings can hardly be judged. Sufficient 'evidence' does exist to indicate that ritual pomp and ceremony, to which fraternalism contributed in Barbados, was intended to contribute to a hegemonic mesmerization or what Lindsay calls 'symbolic manipulation' of the colonized.[153]

At the individual level the 'making' of a Mason, for example, was an apt illustration of the ritual transcending of social boundaries, and the identification with a fictive egalitarianism. To be 'made' a Mason was not an opportunity for everyone. Getting

oneself elected was only the first hurdle; the fee of £6. which the St. Michael's Lodge charged for the three degrees, registration and certification was certainly beyond the reach of the working-class man. Not to mention, the cost of black suit, regalia, quarterly refreshment funds and bearing the expense of the post-initiation banquet. But in the initiation the obvious fact of social privilege was negated. Stripped of all jewellery, and money in the anteroom before admission by the Tyler, a candidate entered blindfolded with exposed left breast, left trousers rolled up, right shirt sleeve rolled up to the elbow and a noose around the neck - all illustrative of the levelling which the fraternity espoused. This was however only transitory; a temporary symbolic inversion of the normative social structure. Indeed, a temporal fantasy and play which was in some respects similar to the black working-class members of the Landship who dressed in the uniforms of the white British navy and military, and became instant admirals, captains and so on. Nevertheless, Landship members could not become members of the social elite of British soldiers, neither could Masons exchange their high social status for that of a working-class man.

As a 'raised' third-degree Master Mason of the Craft the initiate gains an enhanced status in the fraternity. Drawing attention to the formulation of Arnold van Gennep in *Rites de Passage* (1908), Turner indicates that following the period of ambiguity during which a novice is detached from his previous social status, he enters the final stage of an enhanced social status and a permanent elevation after a humbling experience.[154] Fraternal ritual therefore symbolised a fanciful social equality while reasserting privilege, hierarchy and deference.

A number of studies exist which illustrate the importance of imperial pomp and ceremonial in securing and validating imperial hegemony.[155] One of the evocative symbolic displays in Victorian and Edwardian Barbados was the fraternal procession when the brotherhood marched, bedecked in their resplendent robes, aprons, sashes, jewels, crooks and headgear. These processions of the middle and upper-class lodges were relatively rare, unlike the Landship. The Freemasons had long since 1745 withdrawn from regular public appearance, especially since the 'roughs' of English society had engaged in unflattering mimicry. Masons no longer could appear in public processions in regalia without specific 'dispensations' from their Grand Lodges in Britain. Moreover, a phalanx of social control legislation throughout the nineteenth century effectively criminalized 'street culture.'[156] Consequently processions were limited to anniversaries and auspicious national or imperial celebrations.

To celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria, the members of the Albion Lodge joined other Freemasons in Barbados in a service at St. Michael's Cathedral.[157] From early Tuesday morning, 21 June 1887, crowds gathered along the avenues of the streets in the vicinity of the Cathedral in anticipation of the parade to the Cathedral from the Masonic Temple on Spry Street some yards away. The *Times* reported, 'Masonic demonstration, at least in this island, have always been so rare that the mere mention of one in honour of the Queen's Jubilee was sufficient to excite general curiosity.'[158] Headed by the Tyler with drawn sword, followed by Master Masons, Members of the Royal Arch and Knights Templars, they made their way to the Cathedral by a circuitous route, returning the same way at the close of the service.[159] Back at the Masonic Temple, luncheon was taken and the usual 'loyal' toasts made.

The pattern of this parade was typical. Invariably, such processions commenced at the respective lodge room where the lodge was 'opened' in the respective form or degree and not 'closed' until the event concluded at the return to the lodge room when banquets and loyal speeches crowned the day's activity. Disbandment did not occur on the street, neither could spectators join processions; the drawn sword of the Tyler symbolically guarded the 'entrance' even in public and illustrated the demarcation between the respectable procession and the crowd. The careful organization of fraternal ranks mirrored the similar concerns of the government with carefully observing 'precedence' and hierarchy in these public displays as an object lesson to the people in orderly progress. In addition the procession extolled the virtue of 'respectability' by its visibility and demonstration to as many persons as possible. Respectability was of little value as a personal creed; it had to be worn as a badge making it visible for the approbation of others in the society. Consequently, a route which would allow as much visibility as possible of these orderly decorous processions was followed and no short cuts were attempted. And finally, the church service was always the centre point of all fraternal street demonstrations, and was critical as the basis for respectable values. The procession was a symbolic language which dramatised those values which fraternalists approved for society; that is gradual orderly progress, restraint and loyalty to the status quo.

On the occasion of its fifteenth anniversary, the Livesey Comet Lodge of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows was reported to have drawn crowds to witness its procession to St. Ambrose Church for divine service. They followed some of the principal thoroughfares of Bridgetown to the church and back, in an 'orderly and respectable'

manner.[160] The procession of members of the Independent Order of Mechanics, was reported to draw no fewer than 1,000 spectators, besides those in the hills and gaps who gathered to watch as members of the fraternity marched from their lodge room at St. Silas School to the Chapel accompanied by a band of music. The *Times* observed that, 'notwithstanding this monster gathering, the strictest decorum was observed.'[161]

While disavowing politics, fraternities in Barbados were committed to the support of the colonial and imperial order. Not once did they engage in a public activity that could be read symbolically or otherwise as subverting the system. Indeed, the fraternities did not miss any opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown and Empire. At every banquet, toasts were offered to the monarch and 'loyal addresses' were forwarded to the monarch *ad nauseam*. On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria, Mr. Doorly a local musician and Freemason, composed a 'Jubilee Hymn' dedicated to the Most Worthy Grand Master Prince Albert, which was forwarded to Grand Lodge.[162] One year after its charter, the Victoria Lodge also sent an address to Prince Albert, this time on the occasion of his twentieth wedding anniversary.[163]

The local benefit lodges did not have the kind of fraternal tie with royalty as the Freemasons, but were nonetheless enthusiastic about showing their loyalty to the Crown. On the death of Queen Victoria and the accession of King Edward VII, the Oddfellows of Barbados sent their own condolence and reaffirmation of loyalty to the Palace.[164] To celebrate the tercentenary of the 'discovery'[165] of Barbados, the Ancient Order of Forester, the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, the Improved Order of Oddfellows, the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, the Free Gardeners and the Independent Order of Mechanics joined in a national procession through Bridgetown to the Garrison Savannah, in what the *Weekly Recorder* dubbed, as an 'enthusiastic demonstration of loyalty.'[166]

Again in 1911, as part of the plans for the Coronation of George V in June, the benefit fraternities announced their plan to feature a 'Pageant of Empire.' The lodges of the various orders were expected to stage a procession of about 1000 persons and 11 cars suitably decorated to the Garrison; and a telegram was to be sent to His Majesty expressing their loyalty.[167] Having made a few changes to the original plan, the various benefit fraternities, on the morning of Wednesday 21 June 1911, formed a procession, estimated to be nearly a half mile long. It consisted of about 400 members. All except the Ancient Free Gardeners were fully attired in regalia, preceded by the Police Band and three decorated wagons illustrating aspects of the British influence.[168] The march left Trafalgar

Square and made its way to Government House, attracting massive crowds along the route. After having read and delivered their Address to be submitted to the King and Queen, the Governor inspected and addressed the procession. He noted that,

> An expression of loyalty from the Secret Societies of Barbados was of special value, because it was of importance that members of these Societies should realise very fully the obligation of citizenship, and it was by fulfilling the obligations and duties of citizens that the Empire was made strong.[169]

Ritual pomp and pageantry had not only to be colourful and impressive, but as has been stated, it needed to be orderly, with each element in its appropriate place. Governor Hay, himself a Freemason, seemed to have forgotten that fact when he arrived in 'an ordinary tweed suit instead of the regular official Windsor uniform' to inspect the trooping of the colours on the occasion of Queen Victoria's 74th birthday.[170] According to the editor of the *Times,* it was 'calculated to inspire into the minds of "ordinary mortals," a spirit of disloyalty....'[171]

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the symbolic processions of the fraternal orders and national pageantry actually bedazzled the people of Barbados with myths of orderly progress or imperial benevolence. There was at least one case in which 'order' and bedazzlement became incompatible. Although not involving fraternities it is nonetheless instructive. The Governor in 1902 found himself facing an address of censure from the House of Assembly, following the Official Coronation procession on 26 June of that year.[172] On that occasion officers of the Army and Navy (including junior ranks) were not only placed ahead of the members of the House of Assembly, but seated in the Chancel of the Cathedral. In the Governor's defence, the acting Attorney General argued that His Excellency had deviated from the Colonial Offices's Order of Precedence 'in order that the effect of the general scene might be heightened.'[173] Yearwood, who moved the address to censure the Governor was unimpressed: 'The massing of colour might impress savages and ignorant people, but it will not impress the educated people of Barbados. Good, strong rule, and adherence to principle - not massing of colour - will impress the people of Barbados.'[174]

It would appear that some Barbadians at least were not totally blinded by the imperial glitter which fraternities helped to illuminate. Nevertheless, the same 'educated people' of which Yearwood spoke, remained wedded to the apron-string of 'Good strong

[imperial] rule.' Local fraternities, unlike many in the United States, stopped short of complete indigenization. The Grand Master of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows expressed satisfaction in his inaugural address at Portsmouth in 1900, that his organization was playing its part in consolidating the commitment of the colonies to Britain, as expressed by the loyalty of the colonial lodges to the order.[175]

> That display of patriotism is the result of the supreme test of the link that binds Oddfellowship together in a strong brotherhood in all parts of the British-speaking world. I believe the Colonial Districts and Lodges of our great Unity are loyal to the parent society, by reason of the same causes as induce the colonies to be loyal to the motherland.[176]

Indeed, fraternal jurisprudence mirrored in significant ways colonial politics. In spite of their relative autonomy, the Order in the Mother Country remained the final institution of appeal and authority. For example, in January 1903, the Barbados District confirmed the decision of the St. Michael's Oddfellows' Lodge to award Brother Cordle benefits of three shillings per week. However, on appeal to the Grand Master and Directors in England, the decision of the Barbados District was overturned and it was resolved that he be paid at the rate of twelve shillings per week for the period claimed.[177] Like imperial rule itself, the Mother Country was always the final referee and the majority of the people wished it to remain so.

Fraternalism in Barbados was a powerful force of conservatism although espousing ideals of egalitarianism and latitudinarianism. These ideals were contradictory given their coexistence with a commitment to hierarchy, prestige, and deference, bolstered by an ethos of secrecy and selective presentation. This did not mean that the fraternal culture was immuned from the struggles for social mobility and justice in the society at large, as illustrated by the 'successful' penetration by middle class blacks and coloureds into the halls of English Freemasonry. Discrete social intercourse between senior public servants and their junior clerks; between merchants and their clerks; between officers and subalterns was facilitated. It was this cross-class co-fraternity which enhanced the power of fraternalism to consolidate ruling-class hegemony. Moreover, fraternal culture offered a cultural prism which obfuscated fundamental socioeconomic inequities. The commitment of the various orders in the Mother Country to a policy of racial inclusiveness enhanced the moral authority of British imperialism, and secured a commitment to British rule by

middle-class colonial non-whites who became convinced of British 'fair play.' Fraternal culture had a place for (almost) everyone and so blunted the development of oppositional class consciousness. The capacity of persons like Roberts and Cummins who were prominent working-class leaders, to penetrate Freemasonry no doubt convinced them that the caste- like feature of Barbadian society was a thing of the past. It is perhaps on this account that such men were unable to steer the working-classes to articulate unambiguous class interests.

Chapter 4

1. John M. Roberts, *The Mythology of the Secret Societies* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972).

2. Ibid., 14.

3. W. Harry Rylands, ed., *Records of the Lodge Original, No. 1, Now the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2 of the Free and Accepted Masons of England, vol.1* (Privately Printed, 1911), 200-01. The Maypole (*Agave barbadensis*) presumambly indigenous to Barbados, was one of its symbols, (Ibid., plate between 202-03).

4. John Lane, *Masonic Records, 1717-1894*, pt.III (London, 1895), 86.

5. Ibid.

6. For the development of various Freemason Grand Lodges, see: John Hamill, *The Craft: A History of English Freemasonry* (London: Aquarian Press, 1986).

7. For a brief discussion of some events in the history of the Irish Lodges in Barbados, see, R. E. Parkinson, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland*, II. (Dublin: Lodge of Research, CC., 1957).

8. George S. Draffen, (comp.,) *Scottish Masonic Records, 1736-1950*, (Edinburgh: Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1950), 28.

9. Lionel A. Seemungal, 'The Two Lodges Scotia in Barbados,' Typescript, Feb., 1979 in the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

10. Ibid., 5-8; N.G.D. Atwell, *Albion Lodge No. 196 E.R. : The First Two Hundred Years*, ([Bridgetown:] Privately Published, 1990), 38.

11. These lodges are still vibrant today (1994). 'Craft Masonry' refers to the system of Freemasonry of three degrees: Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason. However under its aegis Master Masons of the Craft may be 'advanced' into other side or so-called 'higher degrees' worked in Chapters associated with regular Craft lodges. This chapter concerns itself with regular Craft Masonry.

12. The following references give varying indications of the year of its foundation: *Quarterly Magazine of the Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity*, 4: 22 (Oct., 1864), 515; *Quarterly Magazine*, 11 (Oct., 1877), 250; *Quarterly Magazine,* 15 (Nov., 1884), 341.

13. *Ancient Order of Foresters' Directory*, 1891, 363.

14. *Bye Laws of the British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners Lodge No. 149* (Bridgetown: 1908).

15. *Barbados Blue Book*, 1888.

16. *Barbados Blue Book*, 1891.

17. Defined as, 'certain basic rules and principles...which cannot be changed, repealed or amended by any Mason, Lodge, or Grand Lodge.' Grand Lodge of Scotland, 'The Craft's Attitude to Politics and Religion,' AQC 83 (1970), 367-68.

18. *Constitutions of the Antient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons under the United Grand Lodge of England*. (London: UGLE, 1884), 3.

19. Ibid., 4.

20. E. L. Daniell, ed., 'Rules of Friendly Societies in England and Scotland' in PP 1874 (c.961-I) XXIII, Friendly Societies Commission, app. 16, Fourth Report, pt. II, p. 47.

21. Ibid., 'General Laws of the Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society' p.82.

22. See, Dewar, *The Unlocked Secret,* Ch. 11.

23. PP 1874 (c.961-I) XXIII, app. 16 , pt. II, 'Rules of Friendly Societies'.

24. Morris Rosenbaum, 'A Provisional List of Jewish Freemasons in England of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries', Appendix to, John M. Shaftesley, 'Jews in English Regular Freemasonry, 1717-1860,' *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 25, (1977), 150-209.

25. R. E. Parkinson, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland* II (Dublin: Lodge of Research, CC., 1957).

26. See letter to the *Herald*, 30 June 1881 and UGLE 196, Fitzpatrick to Clerke, 9 Aug. 1881. No accession numbers are allocated by the United Grand Lodge of England to its manuscripts apart from the registration numbers of the individual lodges. For Barbados the names and numbers of the English registered lodges are as follows: Albion 196, Victoria 2196 and St. Michael 2253. Correspondence and Returns are not separated but are filed together under the respective lodge number. Citations in this thesis are of correspondence, except where 'Return' is noted. Letters from Barbados to England were sent by the secretary of the local lodge to the Grand secretary of UGLE.

27. Quoted in UGLE 196, Fitzpatrick to Clerke, 9 Aug. 1881, 1-2.

28. See Ugle 196, 4 Aug. A.L. 5881 [1881], copy of minutes of a meeting held on 6 July 1881. Note 'A.L.' denotes *Anno Lucis*, 'In the Year of Light.' It's use is based on Archbishop Usher's calculation of the creation of earth at 40004 B.C. Disregarding the four years, Masons add 4000 years to the current to arrive at the Masonic year. This was intended to suggest that Freemasonry originated at Creation.

Although a Past Master of Albion as well, Wilson was not equally censured. Probably this stems from the fact that on the occasion of presenting the address, he did so as 'the Past Eminent Perceptor of the Star of the West Perceptors of Knights Templars.' (See UGLE 196, Fitzpatrick to Clerke, 9 Aug. 1881); UGLE 196, Fitzpatrick to Clerke, 9 Aug., 1881.

29. UGLE 196, Fitzpatrick to Clerke, 9 Aug., 1881.

30. *Quarterly Magazine of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity*, 6: 4 (Oct., 1867).

31. *Herald*, Mon., 29 March 1880.

32. Letter from 'A Mason,' *Agricultural Reporter*, ' 1 July 1881.

33. 'One of the Audience,' 'The Mitchinson Presentation Address,' *Herald*, 4 July, 1881.

34. See, MCA 1907-08, doc. 65, The Petition of the Myrtle Flower Lodge No. 149 of the British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners Friendly Society; and doc.68, Petition of Livesey Comet Lodge, No. 3,312 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows Friendly Society.

35. DHA 28 Jan. 1908.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. F. A. Hoyos, *Grantley Adams and the Social Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), 4-11; Fraser et.al, *A -Z of Barbadian Heritage*, 1-2.

39. Respective Rules in BDA.

40. UGLE 196, Atkins to Clerke, 27 Dec. 1883.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. UGLE 196, Wilson to Clerke, Private, 24 Jan. 1887.

44. P. M. Ross, ed., *The Victoria Lodge No. 2196 E.R.: A History of One Hundred Years of Masonic Work, 1887-1987* ([Bridgetown: Victoria Lodge, 1987]), 6.

45. D. Augustus Starker, *A Trip to the Windward Islands; Or Then and Now* (Detroit Mich.: James H. Stone, 1896), 72.

46. *West Indian* 13 Jan. 1880; 101/32 [1919] Will of John William Williams in BDA.

47. Ross,ed., *Victoria Lodge*, 6.

48. UGLE 196, Wilson to Clerke, Private, 24 Jan. 1887, reference to a former previous private correspondence from Wilson to Clerke, 17 Sept. 1886, but not found.

49. UGLE 2196, Pilgrim to Clerke, 19 Sept. 1887 and Wright to Clerke, 19 Sept. 1887.

50. UGLE 2196, Pilgrim to Clerke, 19 Sept. 1887.

51. 'Freemasonry', *Times* 28 Aug. 1886; *Globe* 2 Sept. 1886.

52. Quoted in T. Ballan Stead, 'Historical Sketch of the Order,' in *Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society for 1891*, xxxiii.

53. *Agricultural Reporter*, 10 Sept. 1880.

54. See, Sec. 116 'Private Lodges,' *Constitutions*, 1884, 58-9.

55. UGLE 2196, Petition to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 22 Jan. 1887.

56. UGLE 2196, Wilson to Clerke, Private, 24 Jan., 1887 and Official correspondence of the same date.

57. Ibid.

58. UGLE 196, Bailey, Outram and Gill to Clerke, 24 Jan., 1887.

59. Ibid.

60. UGLE Letter Book, (Jan. 1887- Feb. 1892), Clerke to Bayley, 21 March 1887, 52.

61. Ibid., Clerke to Wilson, 21 March 1887, 53; Lane, *Masonic Records*, 438.

62. UGLE 196, Bailey, Outram and Gill to Clerke, 18 April 1887.

63. Ibid.

64. The term 'Scottish Masonry' was applied not only to the practice of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, but to various Masonic forms that sanctioned the proliferation of degrees. Roberts in an anglocentric vein argues that France was the 'home' of Scottish Masonry. He associates this type of Masonry with the 'deviant and degenerate Freemasonry,' and other 'heterodox' forms, which lent themselves to political use in continental

Europe. Roberts, *The Mythology of the Secret Societies*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972), 98.

65. See William Thomas, 'Freemasonry in the British Army,' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 14: 53 (Spring 1935), 24-32; S.J. Fenton, 'The Military Services and Freemasonry,' AQC 40 (1947), 3-25.

66. Ronald Hyam, *British Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1976), 152-3.

67. UGLE 196, Mann [Hospital sergeant, 2nd West Indian Regiment, Sierra Leone,] to Grand Secretary, 29 March 1885.

68. MCA 1904-05, doc. 220.

69. UGLE 196, Return 29 April 1885.

70. UGLE 196, Wilson to Clerke, 24 Jan. 1887, Confidential as well as Official.

71. Minutes of St. Michael's Lodge, 2253, 3 Jan. 1888. For a brief account of the History of this Lodge, see, B. D. Parsons, 'A Short History of St. Michael's Lodge No. 2253, E.C.,' in *St. Michael's Lodge Centenary Yearbook, 1888-1988* [Bridgetown, Barbados: Privately Printed, 1988], 28.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., See Receipts No. 8, 22 Jan. 1887 and No. 2, 21 Jan. 1887 for $12 each, encls. in UGLE 2196, Wright to Clerke; Pilgrim to Clerke, 19 Sept. 1887 respectively.

74. Minutes of St. Michael's Lodge, inserted By-Laws.

75. UGLE 2196, Pilgrim to Clerke, 19 Sept. 1887 and Wright to Clerke, 19 Sept. 1887.

76. Parsons, 'Short History,' 28.

77. Biographical details from, CO 28/237, no 7, encl no 3 in Hay to the Lord Marquis, 25 Jan. 1895, confidential.

78. 'Masonic,' *Herald*, Mon., 26 May 1890.

79. Sometimes recorded as an 'alarm', that is, a knocking on the lodge door by the Tyler which indicated that members should be alert as someone was about to be ushered into the temple.

80. St. Michael's Lodge Minutes, 20 Jan. 1903. He also visited on Tues., 21 Aug. 1906, as a member of Thistle 1014, (also a Scottish Lodge). See previous chapter for discussion on Roberts.

81. St. Michael's Lodge Minutes, 14 May 1908.

82. Mary Ann Clawson, 'Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth -Century United States,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 27 (1985), 692.

83. Ibid., 689.

84. Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 25.

85. *Constitutions*, 1884, 'Antient Charges' III Lodges, 5-6. For the current position see, 'Freemasons External Relations,' (London: UGLE, 1989) Leaflet. Lodges accepting women are said to be 'irregular' and English Freemasons are forbidden to associate with such lodges.

86. Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 12-14; *idem*, 'Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual.' In *Idem* and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), esp. 48-52.

87. P. J. Rich, 'Public-school Freemasonry in the Empire: 'Mafia of the Mediocre'?' in J. A. Mangan, *'Benefits Bestowed'?: Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester: MUP, 1988), 174-92; *idem*, *Elixir of Empire: English Public Schools, Ritualism , Freemasonry, and Imperialism* (London: Regency Press, 1989), and his *Chains of Empire.*

88. All of these were initiated into Scotia Lodge.

89. St. Michael's Lodge Minutes, 18 April 1899. Valdemar Carl Hanschell, was eventually initiated on 16 December 1902, age 23.

90. St. Michael's Lodge Minutes, Wed., 21 Aug. 1900; Tues., 21 Aug. 1906.

91. Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture*, 106.

92. St. Michael's Lodge Minutes, 18 June 1889.

93. Charles Smith, *Centenary History of the Ancient Noble Order of United Oddfellows Bolton Unity, 1832-1932* (Manchester: Executive of Order, 1932), 10.

94. Ballan Stead, 'Female Foresters,' *Ancient Order of Foresters Directory,1895*, liv.

95. Robert W. Moffrey, *The Rise and Progress of the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, 1810-1904* (Manchester: IOOF (MU), 1905), 66.

96. R.W. Moffrey, *A Century of Oddfellowship*, 130.

97. W. W. Covey-Crump, comments on F. M. Rickard, 'Oddfellowship,' AQC 40 (1927), 196. It must be pointed out however, that many Freemason lodges in Britain operated friendly societies as adjuncts to the Craft. Indeed, one theory posits that Freemasonry originated as an ordinary benefit institution, Andrew Durr, 'The Origin of the Craft' pt. I & II, AQC 96 (1983), 170-83.

98. James Spry, *The History of Odd-Fellowship* (London, Devonport, Manchester: 1867), v, 179.

99. BBB 1888; *Times*, Sat., 12 Feb. 1887.

100. *Times*, Sat., 12 Feb. 1887.

101. The statistics of friendly societies in the *Blue Books* during the 1880s and early 1890s must be treated with extreme caution. Many statistics remained unchanged for a number of years suggesting that societies were not submitting returns consistently and the clerks in the Colonial Secretary's Office simply reissued previous data.

102. Roberts, *Mythology of the Secret Societies,* 60-61.

103. District Grand Lodge of Barbados *Sixtieth Regular Communication*, 15 July 1910, 24.

104. 'Extracts from the Proceedings of the DGLOB, Friday 22 Nov., 1918,' (1919), 11.

105. *AOF Directory*, 1891, 405-07.

106. Ibid., 363

107. 'Independent United Order of Mechanics, Anniversary and Dedication of the James Star Lodge I.U.O.M,' *Times*, Sat., 27 Aug. 1892.

108. 'With the Free Gardeners,' *Globe*, Friday 21 [July] 1899.

109. UGLE 2196, Wright to Clerke, 19 Sept. 1887.

110. *Globe*, Friday 21 [July] 1899.

111. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1766), 36, 492.

112. James Spry, *History of Odd-Fellowship*, 139

113. PP 1899 (c.9046-30) LXI, Annual Report of Barbados, 1898, pp. 26-7.

114. Locke to Letchworth, 15 October 1898, printed in *Proceedings of the United Grand Lodge of England,* 10 (1898-1900), 170.

115. *District Grand Lodge of Barbados: Proceedings of the 28th Regular and 9th Annual Communication*, Thursday 6 July 1899, 4.

116. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 19 Nov. 1898, 4.

117. UGLE 196, Bayley to Clerke, 28 June 1883.

118. Resolutions 146 and 147, Grand Master and Board of Directors, Feb., 1907, In *Quarterly Report,* (July 1907), 67-72. Also *Quarterly Report* (1907), 43.

119. *Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society Centenary, 1834-1934* (London: Executive Council, A.O.F., [1934]), 29.

120. 'Report of the Board of General Purposes,' PUGLE 13 (1907-09), 8, 10.

121. PGLS, (1907-08), 185.

122. *Monthly Magazine* 37: 388 (April, 1907), 117.

123. UGLE 196, Samuel, George, James and Lydia Williams to Letchworth, 9 Nov. 1901 and Clinckett to Asst. G.S., 3 Jan. 1892.

124. UGLE 2196, Valverde to Letchworth, 19 July 1902; UGLE 2196 Walton to Letchworth, 20 Dec. 1902 and 11 March 1903. For the Jewish ancestry of the Valverdes in Barbados, see Wilfred S. Samuel, 'A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680,' (London: Purnell & Sons, Ltd., 1936), 85, 88-90.

125. UGLE 2196, Walton to Letchworth, 19 Nov. 1904 and Inniss to Letchworth, 18 Nov. 1904.

126. See, AOF Directories, 1891-97, etc. See also, 'Instructions to travellers,' AOF Directory, 1891, 395.

127. UGLE 196, Wilson to Clerke, 7 Feb. 1887, with enclosed petition.

128. *Times,* Sat., 27 March 1886.

129. *The Times* (London), Monday, 12 April 1886, 7.

130. UGLE 196, Petition encl. in Wilson to Clerke, 7 Feb. 1887.

131. UGLE 196, Wilson to Clerke, 7 Feb. 1887.

132. GD46/17/24, Copy of Letter from French Mason, 12 Oct. 1804, encl. in Cutting et. al to Seaforth, 27 Feb. 1806, in Governor Seaforth Papers, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

133. GD/ 46/24 Cutting et al. to Seaforth, 27 Feb. 1806.

134. See Baignet and Leigh, *The Temple and the Lodge*, 338-40.

135. *Barbados Herald*, Thursday 5 Jan. 1882; *West Indian*, 10 Jan. 1882.

136. Letter to Clerke, 23 March 1887.

137. Ibid., annotation by Clerke.

138. *West Indian*, Wed., 18 May 1887.

139. UGLE 196, Williams to Letchworth with enclosed letter to H.R.H. Albert Edward, 3 June 1893.

140. These were dated, 22 Nov. 1890, 29 Jan. 1891, 28 Feb. 1891 and 20 June 1891, but were subsequently 'Destroyed under Statute'. See CO 565/2, Index 'W', Register of Correspondence.

141. Again, no full draft replies were kept, but a precis is noted in CO 501/4, Register of Out-Going Correspondence.

142. CO 28/243, encl. no 1, Williams to Chamberlain, in Hay to Chamberlain, no 171, 28 Sept. 1897.

143. CO 28/243, encl. no 2, 'Minute by the Attorney General to the Acting Colonial Secretary,' in Hay to Chamberlain, no 171, 28 Sept. 1897.

144. See CO 565/3, Register of Correspondence, for list of correspondence including those 'Destroyed under Statute.'

145. UGLE 196, Samuel, George, James and Lydia Williams to Letchworth, 9 Nov. 1901.

146. CO 565/4, Register of Correspondence, Original Correspondence, 'Destroyed under Statute.'

147. CO 28/259, Allamby to Chamberlain, 15 June 1902, w/ encl.

148. Minute on above.

149. CO 28/261, 'The Humble Petition of Kate Allamby to our Most Gracious Sovereign Lord [sic] King Edward VII,' 24 April 1903, para IX.

150. Ibid., Draft letter, no 109, 26 May 1903.

151. Victor Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow, and Ritual,' in *idem, From Ritual to Theatre*: *The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications), 23.

152. David Cannadine, 'Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings,' in *idem* and Simon Price, *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), 1-19.

153. Louis Lindsay, 'The Myth of a Civilizing Mission: British Colonialism and the Politics of Symbolic Manipulation,' ISER Working Paper No. 31 (Mona, Jamaica: ISER, 1981).

154. Ibid., 24-5.

155. Lindsay, 'The Myth of a Civilizing Mission'; Essays in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983); Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*.

156. This point is elaborated in Chapter 6 'Leisure and the Social Order.'.

157. UGLE 196, Lyder to Clerke, 11 July 1887.

158. *Times*, Sat., 25 June 1887.

159. Ibid.

160. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 5 Aug. 1905, 10.

161. *Times*, 27 Aug. 1892.

162. UGLE 196, Wilson to Clerke, 21 March 1887.

163. UGLE 2196, Warner and Wilson to Clerke with encls., 13 April 1888.

164. *Quarterly Report*, IOOF, (April 1901), 101-02.

165. This celebration was based on the erroneous view that the English had first landed on Barbados in 1605. The year was actually 1625.

166. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 2 Dec. 1905.

167. *Barbados Standard,* Tues., 2 May 1911, 5.

168. *Coronation Handbook*, ([Barbados] n.p, 1911), 10-1.

169. Ibid., 11.

170. *Times,* Sat., 27 May 1893; also letter by 'Loyalty' in same issue.

171. Ibid.

172. DHA 29 July 1902, pp. 113-5.

173. Ibid., p. 114.

174. Ibid., p. 115.

175. 'Colonial Oddfellowship and Loyalty,' *Quarterly Report,* IOOF, (July 1900), 24-5.

176. Ibid., 25.

177. Resolution 15, Appeals: Feb., 1903, *Quarterly Report*, (April 1903), 3.

CHAPTER 5

CHILDHOOD, YOUTH, SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

Categorizations such as 'childhood', 'youth' and 'adolescence' are difficult to define simply because they are social and cultural concepts constructed in specific historical and social contexts. Puberty and menarche are universal biological experiences but are restricted in their social and symbolic significance. Moreover, these concepts are complicated further by other constructions like race, class and gender. The age paramaters in use in the judicial and education system as well as in labour practices are useful to the extent that they indicate what power-wielding middle and upper class males perceived to be the connection between intergenerational relations and the social order.

Between the ages of five and sixteen were for most (but not all) the optimum years of formal education and secondary schooling in Barbados. For an even smaller number secondary education was available up to age nineteen. Work and education were not mutually exclusive experiences for many black working-class children; the censuses enumerated a significant proportion of those under fifteen who were child labourers. Early nineteenth-century penal legislation recognised age sixteen as the watershed between juvenile and adult punishment,[1] and later legislation absolved boys under seven from criminal culpability.[2] It was not until the 1900s that youth offenders were clearly divided as 'child' and 'young person,' the former defined as under twelve years old and the latter as someone between twelve and sixteen.[3]

The study of youth, broadly defined, is very significant for the understanding of the construction and maintenance of Barbadian society in the period 1880-1914. The processes of inter-generational socio-cultural reproduction were critical for all strata of society. All adults viewed the 'appropriate' socialization of the young as an important task, although precisely what appropriate socialization entailed varied from one social group to another. The objects of socialization - whether the youth generally, or subject classes - were not supine reproducers.[4] Socialization of the young was inextricably linked with a focus on the family which was reified in the Victorian period as the locus of social order and social stability. The apparent failure of black West Indian family life to match the Victorian ideal was placed at the root of a multiplicity of social problems. The 'youth problem' was

therefore inextricably linked with the 'family problem.'

The young were both socially and demographically a significant segment of the Barbadian population. Table 5.1 shows a child population which remained well over a third of the entire population. High male emigration between 1891-1911 contributed to the reduction in the birth rate[5] and was reflected in the decline in the number and percentage of children in the whole population. The general sex ratio (males per 1,000 females) plummeted from 801 in 1891 to 690 by 1911, but this was due entirely to the movement of the adult population since throughout this period the ratio of boys to girls remained virtually unchanged. St. Michael and Bridgetown accounted for 25.6 percent of the child population in 1891 and 27.3 percent in 1911. Inevitably the authorities came to associate some of the problems of urban Barbados with the young.

Table 5.1. Child Population, 1881-1911.

0-14 *	1881		1891		1911	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Boys	37,918	22.1	36,579	20.1	32,115	18.7
Girls	37,745	22.0	36,740	20.2	32,371	18.8
Total	75,663	44.1	73,319	40.2	64,486	37.5
TL. Pop.	171,452	100.	182,306	100.	171,983	100.

* 1881, 0-15 years.

Source: Barbados Censuses: 1881, 1891 and 1911.

Childhood and Mortality

Whatever joy may have accompanied the issue of new life in the world was always tempered with the very real prospect of possible infant death. For a country which Moxly called a *West Indian Sanatorium*, Barbados had one of the highest mortality rates in the British West Indies. Statistics prepared by C. E. Gooding, the parochial medical officer of St. Philip, and by Dr. Charles Hutson, the Poor Law Inspector, indicated an average death rate per thousand of 21.5 for 1861-70, 23.6 for 1871-80, 27.0 for 1881-90 and 29.7 for 1891-94.[6] Dr Charles Hutson felt that Barbados was generally healthy but that high mortality stemmed from 'the struggle for existence' in a dense population.[7] It was likely

that these statistics under-reported the extent of the problem; infant mortality data was collected for the first time in 1896 and confirmed that children under the age of one accounted for some 35 percent of all deaths.[8] Rev. G. J. Clarke-Holman had said at the Anglican Synod meeting on 21 October 1891 that in the face of the large death rate of infants, it would be an abdication of duty if the clergy did not petition the Assembly for a medical registration of deaths bill.[9] Such a bill was not forthcoming until 1924.[10] The additional expense had been thought to be unnecessary given the fact that the opinion-makers had long concluded that infant mortality was the result of poverty, immorality and ignorance.

Whatever the explanations offered by colonial experts, the statistics were certainly disturbing to the Colonial Office, especially in the early 1900s when the doctrines of efficiency and health were on top of the imperial agenda. After the South African War, Britain was particularly reflective about her capacity not only to defend her Empire, but also to compete efficiently with her European neighbours and the United States. Vibrant imperial health was critical to a viable capitalism and defence. The number of persons in Britain considered unfit to be recruited for the South African War resulted in the appointment of a Commission to investigate national physical deterioration.[11] It was against the background of Colonial Office concerns that early in 1906 Governor Robinson requested parochial Poor Law officials to explain why the infant mortality rate in Barbados was second only to Antigua. The average death rate of children under one year per 1000 births in Barbados was 281.5 for the period 1900-04. In Antigua it was 350.9 for 1903 alone. In 1903-04 it was 187.2 and 187.0 for Jamaica and Trinidad respectively; 200.6 for British Guiana in 1904 while Grenada recorded 169.7 for the period 1900-04.[12] Colonial Office bureaucrats found such figures 'disquieting' while hoping that education of the masses would prove to be the remedy.[13]

Dr. Boxhill, the medical officer of health for St. George's Parish had recommended the distribution of leaflets to mothers on child-rearing skills. Feeding of children on cornmeal pap, sugar and flour came under criticism, but there was a recognition that many mothers could not afford the six cents per day or forty-two cents per week to get two pints of milk daily.[14] In ways similar to English working-class mothers, frequent infant deaths fuelled a fatalism that it was all 'the Lord's will.'[15] Children themselves could not be sheltered from the grim reality of the death of siblings or of neighbours.[16] This exposure was not exclusive to the working class. At age four Mehatabel Burslem, daughter of the

wealthy merchant John Gardiner Austin, was given graphic descriptions by her under-nurse of the death which had occasioned a wake in the neighbouring tenantry.[17] The death of Mehatabel's own infant brother remained also a vivid memory.[18]

The first local Conference on infant mortality agreed predictably to collate future statistics on deaths according to legitimate and illegitimate births. As expected the resulting data confirmed long held prejudices linking black working-class sexuality with infant mortality. Similar lines of enquiry elsewhere in the Empire convinced poor law officials that high mortality among illegitimate children was a 'universal reference.'[19] Again, the St. George Board of Poor Law Guardians set the pace for reform. They appointed a District Visiting Nurse to call upon mothers and advise them on feeding and remedies and to recommend milk for the impoverished. In spite of the Governor's blessing this programme was terminated after a year and the other parishes showed no enthusiasm for the experiment.[20]

The political directorate was not prepared to deal with the structural social bases for the severely restricted life chances of black children. Infant mortality in the British Caribbean was much lower in those islands with greater economic diversification and peasant holdings.[21] The implications of this linkage did not bother the elite of the island. Instead, racist interpretations of black sexuality and illegitimacy remained the dominant discourse while unacceptable levels of infant mortality continued into the 1920s and 1930s.[22]

Mass Elementary Education

Education throughout the post-slavery British West Indies was an essential ingredient of a British colonial agenda of social control. [23] The 'liberal' education reforms in Barbados, following the Mitchinson Commission Report of 1875-77, resulted in some expansion of educational opportunities for all classes and both sexes. Commissioners had to allay the fears of the planter-merchant class that elementary education would not 'unfit' black working-class children 'for such labour as must necessarily be their lot in life.'[24] However, education was to be like a ladder to allowing a few from the working class to climb to the 'top', to replenish that upper stratum of the working class in possession of artisan skills, 'but the rank and file of every School will naturally follow in the tracks of their parents.'[25] An educated stratum of the working and

middle classes was envisaged as a social buffer between the landed elite and the masses. It was expected that 'a few well selected examples' of the working class 'would secure general conformity to the law from the rest'[26] and that following the example of England's heriditary aristocracy the local elite would gain strength by occasional recruitment from the educated middle classes.[27]

The governing classes' commitment to ideological inculcation through education was reflected in the special role which the church played in the system as a whole. Popular elementary education was pioneered by the Established Anglican, Wesleyan-Methodist, and Moravian Churches. 'The three denominations themselves' Titus observes, 'had a limited perspective on education. Schools were a part, though an important part, of the missionary task of the church. They were the means whereby proselytization took place.'[28] The legislature agreed that members of the clergy were best suited to supervise mass education, even though the general financing of education from the public purse was entrenched in the1878 Education Act.

Under that Act provision was made for each public elementary school to have a governing committee presided over by the minister of the congregation to which the school was attached. The clergyman, subject only to the approval of the Board of Education, held 'all the rights of patronage in such school, including the appointment and dismissal of the master or mistress or pupil teachers.'[29] The Bishop of the Anglican Church chaired the Board of Education as well as the three Education Commissions between 1874 and 1910. In 1882 R. P. Elliot, Inspector of Schools, argued that

> unless along with book learning, morality and religion are sedulously cultivated, by fitting agents, I am disposed to join the ranks of the sceptical, and ask, what advantages do we propose to ourselves, in a Colony situated as this, by an educational system which effectually sharpens the wits, while it fails adequately to cultivate the consciences of the great bulk of the population?[30]

Some years later the Moravian minister, J. Y. Edghill, called for a reassertion of the four 'R's' - reading, writing, arithmetic and religious knowledge - because an unbalanced and underfinanced system was simply the recipe for producing, 'sharp tools of mischief.'[31]

School masters and mistresses tended to be lay-workers of the church, including readers, lay preachers, organists and choirmasters. When one assistant teacher's wife gave birth less than six months after their wedding, the Education Board readily upheld the

decision of the management committee of his school to suspend him.[32] Some teachers resisted this ecclesiastical power but the most sustained challenge came from the *Times*. The *Times* conducted an unrelenting campaign to have 'a national school system, unfettered by any sectarianism, denominationalism, parochial hamper or priestcraft.'[33] A conscience clause in the Education Act precluded undesired religious indoctrination[34] but the inefficiency of the education system was attributed to demoralised "priest-ridden" teachers.[35] The Anglican clergy were singled-out as the chief culprits.[36]

The majority of the members of the 1894-96 Education Commission acknowledged that elementary schools were 'virtually government schools although nominally denominational.'[37] They recommended that the regime of administration should reflect this fact but Bishop Bree and Canon Evan Sealy of the Anglican Church dissented from this position preferring that the traditional 'powers of authoritative supervision' be retained by the clergy.[38] The two Anglican clerics had nothing to fear; government had no intention to marginalize the trusted Established Church which up to 1914 retained the supervision of over eighty percent of elementary schools. The government would have been in tune with such warnings as that of an 1893 agricultural report from the parish of St. Thomas noting, 'a bombastic and insolent air' among the labourers, and expressing the hope that no attempt would be made to remove the clergy from their supervisory roles in the schools.[39] This was said to be important because of the religious propensity of the black working class.[40] The Bishop's suggestion that 'Moral Lessons' be added to the object lessons on the curriculum was accepted in 1905.[41] Children in the Infants Departments were expected in 1914 to learn 'reverence for God, truthfulness, honesty, purity, gentleness, obedience to parents, teachers and all persons in authority, politeness, kindness to playmates and animals, [and] cleanliness.'[42] In the Primary Section, instructions were expected in:

> obedience, honesty, industry, temperance, purity, good behaviour at home, in school, on the highway, in places of worship, avoiding evil and profane speaking, confession of wrong, forgiveness, truthfulness in word and deed, [and] cleanliness.'[43]

The planter class across the British West Indies had always been cynical about the moral and hegemonic power of working class education and by the turn of the twentieth century, Barbadian planters were forced to acknowledge, like their counterparts in Jamaica and Trinidad, that the social control agenda of education had failed.[44] The *Agricultural*

Reporter of 14 February 1901 reported on the 'crudeness of manners and generally offensive bearing of many of the lower classes, 'everywhere in the country'.[45] The extension of education had nonetheless coincided with 'the notable decay in that creditable demeanour which was the rule in former days, and which to-day finds exemplification in the older people.' It seemed that,

> Education, or rather the lack of proper Education, appears to have had a most disastrous effect upon many of the labouring people, who compared with the same type of Barbadian of, say, the fifties and sixties, reveal an alarming deterioration. Their ancestors, whose manners were strikingly different from theirs, were industrious, thrifty, devoted to labour; they, the offspring, are unthrifty and regard labour with deep aversion.[46]

The hegemonic edge of formal elementary education was blunted for a number of reasons. The planters themselves admitted that the education system was incongruous in a plantation society like Barbados. The *Agricultural Reporter* thought the teaching of subjects like geography, grammar and singing should be replaced by 'studies which would teach the rising generation, not alone the dignity of manual labour, but how to labour freely to get their living in that sphere of life into which it has pleased God to call them.'[47] 'The upper class wanted the schools to produce amenable and responsive field and factory labourers, but not independent-minded peasants and artisans,' Brereton observes.[48] This restricted agenda was at odds with the aspirations of many working people, for whom education seemed an escape from unrewarding labour. Even so, the system could not deliver on such aspirations.

Education officials sources complained consistently of insufficient funding, dilapidated buildings, lack of equipment and space, and inadequate teacher-training opportunities. Teachers were criticised by supervisors for the over use of rote, but there was hardly much scope to employ other methods without basic supplies like books, slate and proper desks. Pupils delivered their recitations with an added musical flavour perhaps as an antidote to mind-numbing rote learning.[49] Reece and Carrington reported that in 'almost every school the repetition is in a sing song fashion with very little attempt at intelligent rendering.'[50] Frustrated teachers puzzled at the failure of pupils to grasp numeracy skills flogged generously with the 'cow-skin' to remedy the problem.[51] Narrow tuition and dull cramming were also the consequence of a payment system where seventy-five percent of a teacher's salary depended on the number of passes obtained in selected

subjects.[52]

Brereton is of the view that economy and retrenchment were the consistent bases for the official education policy in Trinidad.[53] Indeed, throughout the British West Indies education was targeted for retrenchment in the crisis years of the 1880s and 1890s.[54] For instance, following the collapse in sugar prices in 1884 the Barbados government restricted expenditure on education in 1885 in spite of the petition from 2,701 teachers and parents and a mass meeting at the Albert Hall in Bridgetown.[55] Again in 1894 when the fortunes of sugar took another dip, retrenchment in education was placed on the legislative agenda. The legislature did not seem enthusiastic about the fact that in the previous year the average attendance rose to 16,606, more pupil teachers were hired and an additional one thousand pounds had to be voted by the government.[56]

Economic difficulties alone do not explain the policy of West Indian legislatures. In November 1897 the Education Act was amended by the legislature to set a ceiling of £11,000 pounds on elementary education expenditure.[57] This, like all the retrenchment before, was targeted at the education of the black working class. The upper and middle classes who enjoyed secondary education and a disproportionate allocation of the education purse were unaffected. Whereas the elite school masters continued to enjoy their healthy salaries, elementary masters and teachers suffered the ignominy of pay cuts. The choice of elementary education as the prime target for retrenchment illustrates the cynicism of the ruling class concerning the potential of this area for securing their hegemony.

Low enrolment and average attendance also limited the impact of formal education. From a school age population [58]of 48,572 in 1891, 25,8881 or 53.3 percent were enrolled in school. By 1911 this number had increased to 28,050 representing 63 percent of the 44,509 children of school age.[59] There were 10,538 said to be receiving private education in 1891 and 4,791 in 1911. However statistics pertaining to home education were always suspect. Those who were really receiving private education were invariably children of the upper-middle and upper classes who were not sent to the public elementary schools to associate with working-class children. The figures cited for the elementary schools indicate the situation of black-working class and lower middle class children. Although enrolment was more than half of the school age population, the average attendance was much lower. The average attendance of 13, 624 in 1891 represented only 28 percent of the population of school age, and in 1911 the average attendance increased to 16, 314, or 36.7 percent of the school population. This meant that between 1891and 1911 about one-third of the

children attended school.

Some families were unable to afford the weekly school pence. The majority of teachers in Barbados and Trinidad were opposed to the imposition of these fees[60] but, while the Trinidad government abolished them from 1901, the Education Commission of Barbados of 1907-09 rejected the recommendation from the majority (104) of head teachers who wanted them scrapped.[61] Although fees were part of teachers remuneration the majority of them felt that the *quid pro quo* would be an increase in capitation and examination premiums resulting from improved attendance and exam results.[62] Supervising ministers and members of the Commission insisted on the collection of fees, not wishing to 'pauperise' the working class.

Labour and Education

The need for cheap abundant labour by the sugar monoculture economy of Barbados, ensured that work, not school, would dominate the lives of black working class children. Children were pressed into service by parents, both as unpaid workers in the home and 'third gang' workers on the estates. The attempts made by the Colonial Office to mitigate the practice in the 1850s in order to encourage education were rejected by the Barbadian plantocracy.[63] Adult partners were joined by their children, 'each one to earn his or her quota in bringing the annual wage of the family to the coveted £10, for the women and the little ones share alike in the struggle to keep the small patched home together and pay the land rent.'[64] Describing the plight of working-class women and children in agricultural labour, a witness before the Royal Commission noted:

> and in the case of what is known here as farming, i.e., keeping a field clean of weeds, a woman gets 20 cents (10d.) for doing two acres and a half, and this keeps her a week. In other instances a five-acre field would bring 1s.8d. per week, but then the requisition of her children, who may or may not be at school, is called in in order to earn that amount.[65]

When asked how he proposed to educate his eight children, one man replied, 'H'm - w'en a kin gi'e dem 'nuff to eat, den a will t'ink 'bout sendin' dem to school. Belly is de fu'st t'ing 'an den head. Yo' don't t'ink a right, sir?'[66]

In 1911 9.9 percent of boys and 10.4 percent of girls under the age of 15 were at work. Of these, 6 percent of boys compared with 4.6 percent for girls were agricultural

workers. The majority of employed girls, (5.8 percent) were otherwise employed compared to 3.9 percent of employed boys. These 'other' fields are not specified but no doubt included sewing apprenticeships and domestic service. The home was not a refuge from work for the working-class child. Senior siblings often took responsibility for the management of the home in the absence of parents or other senior relations.[67] Classes started at 10.00 am but some children arrived as late as midday.[68] Home duties such as fetching water from the standpipes were said to account for unpunctuality.[69]

The number of girls enrolled and in regular attendance in elementary school was consistently below that of boys as indicated in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Elementary Education in Barbados, 1894-1910.

Year	Total	Average Attendance			Percentages of enrolment		
	Roll	Boys	Girls	All	Boys	Girls	All
1894	28,656	8,317	7,645	15,962	29.0	27.8	55.7
1898	27,776	7,625	7,109	14,734	27.5	25.6	53.0
1901	23,660	7,202	6,345	13,547	30.4	26.8	57.3
1905	24,880	7,570	6,548	14,118	30.4	26.3	56.7
1909	26,963	8,317	7,629	15,940	30.8	28.3	59.1
1910	27,658	8,800	8,029	16,829	31.8	29.0	60.8

Source: Blue Books, 1894-1910.

The education authorities considered *all* women to be intellectually inferior, but the fact that girls benefitted less from primary education was due to *both* parental practices and public policy. Here 'public policy' does not refer exclusively to education policy, for hardly any evidence exists to suggest the pursuit of the kind of sex-discriminatory practices at the elementary stage which were so apparent at the secondary level. The careful sexual division of labour in working-class homes predisposed girls to a lower level of primary education. Whereas boys could fetch the water and tend the small stock and go off to school (even if late), senior girls charged with domestic duties like cooking, and particularly 'minding' their baby siblings, could not do the same.

A regulation brought into force at the beginning of 1911 raised the admission age

to elementary school from four to five, and the school-leaving age was lowered to fourteen.[70] This regulation in effect denied a place to 1,359 pupils who were four years old, almost 5 percent of the pupils on the register[71] or 34.5 percent of that age group across the country.[72] This policy was an example of the way education regulations reflected a broader policy aimed at promoting efficiency, 'mothering,' and by extension, safeguarding the health of the future producers and consumers of the Empire.[73] Women were expected to pay more attention to nurturing their children up to the age of four and thus the schools were closed to infants up to that age.

Women who were already forced to resort to work soon after childbirth to ensure economic survival could hardly be expected to engage in prolonged 'mothering'. However, the exclusion of elementary pupils from age fifteen and above, coupled with the exclusion of those four or under, meant added or perhaps prolonged domestic responsibility for senior girls. Mary Alleyne's story illustrates this fact. Mary had been enrolled at St. Silas Girl's School but she had to stay at home to take care of her younger siblings when her mother migrated to British Guiana in order to earn money. Much to her disappointment, Mary later discovered that re-enrolment was impossible because she had passed the age of fourteen.[74]

As Brodber's research on Jamaica shows, the labour of children was an essential element in the survivalist strategy of the working-class community as a whole.[75] Child-rearing was therefore shared widely and resulted in the widespread phenomenon of child-shifting or dispersion.[76] Large families in distress 'loaned' children to kinship relations who had few children or were childless. This practice helped to relieve impoverished parents with many children, while at the same time the recipients benefitted from a fresh injection of child domestic labour. In some cases persons who were not blood relations were allowed to rear children. This was especially so if they were among the 'better-off' in the community. One woman from Redman's Village, St. George, was said to have 'lightened the burden of many working mothers with several children, by taking in a child and raising it as if he/ she was her own.' [77]

Although children assumed the adult roles of house management and economic activity quite early their status remained ambiguous. Roberts argues that there was no recognised rite of passage between working class childhood and adulthood.[78] Adolescence, or an intermediate stage of extended dependence on adults, was very much a phenomenon of the turn of this century and one confined to middle and upper-class boys. If there was

any rite of passage for working class boys, it centred upon work, not extended schooling or 'character' building. Working-class lads employed as agricultural labourers made a transition from the 'third gang' between age sixteen and nineteen. For children from the upper working class, apprenticeship to an artisan was the closest that a 'respectable' working class lad came to prolonged dependency under adult authority. Depressed economic conditions across the British West Indies threatened the whole apprenticeship system and the social position of the artisan with it. For example, in 1879 a Royal Commission on the Juvenile Population of Jamaica drew attention to the entry of young men into the trades who possessed a bare acquaintance with the requisite skills.[79] Master tradesmen were unable to maintain discipline over these apprentices.[80] The reduction of the status of artisans by unskilled youths was also reported in British Guiana.[81] Artisans and officials who gave evidence before the sittings of the West India Royal Commission in Barbados in 1897 made similar complaints. Gooding, the Parochial Medical Officer for St. Philip testified that there was

> a marked distaste for agricultural labour displayed by almost all who passed through the primary schools. These professedly overcrowd the ranks of artizans, seamstresses, etc. but seldom really learn a trade, and find it difficult to get employment even should they do so.[82]

Reduced wages and living standards had taken such a toll on black parents that it made them unable to sustain their children over the usually long apprenticeships. Mr Dowridge, a master tailor of some fifteen years, stated that, 'as soon as a lad got a little knowledge he left to work for money.'[83] Circumstances had indeed changed from those years when the poor parents of shipwright Washington Harper were able to support him over the six to seven years of his apprenticeship.[84] The unchecked swelling of the ranks of the skilled meant that smaller wages for 'deteriorating' skills followed logically.[85] These 'ill-trained graduates of the elementary schools' who took up brief apprentices to join the 'professions', were blamed by one newspaper editor for a growth in lawlessness.[86]

Gillis concludes in his study of juvenile delinquency in England that '[a] stage of life, adolescence, had replaced station of life, class, as the perceived cause of misbehaviour.'[87] This emphasis on inter-generational tensions is perhaps misplaced. The evidence from Barbados does confirm the view that youth should not be reified but that:

> Age relations (including youth) are part of economic relations and the

> political and ideological structures in which they take place. It is not the relations between ages which explain change or stability in societies, but change in societies which explains relations between different ages.[88]

Juvenile Crime and Punishment

Turner argues that by the turn of the twentieth century the Jamaican government's faith in effective socialisation through education began to give way to suppression as expenditure on education was frozen while that on law and order climbed.[89] As has been pointed out a reduction in elementary education expenditure also occurred in Barbados. There was a stiffer treatment of juvenile crime but even this was to be cost effective - painfully swift and cheap. The increasing number of juvenile convictions met with a growing preference for summary corporal punishment in lieu of custodial sentences by the magistrates. In May 1883, the country's first and only reformatory for boys opened at Dodd's Plantation with nine boys. The regimen of education provided by the school, coupled with the manual labour on the farm was intended to transform juvenile offenders into law abiding young men with an appreciation for thrift and industry. Boys were also licensed to neighbouring estates as domestic servants or field hands. [90] The Boys' reformatory was intended to be a place where boys would be spared the influence of hardened criminal men. However, the institution could not accommodate all juvenile offenders and between 1888 and 1895 no fewer than forty boys age seven to fourteen were incarcerated annually in the main gaol.[91] The numbers declined drastically to twelve in 1896 and did not rise above three up to 1901. This decline in juvenile incarcerations coincided with an increase in the flogging of juvenile offenders.

The Police Magistrate's, Assistant Court of Appeal and the Reformatory Acts were amended in 1896, in part to allow for the more effective whipping of boys.[92] According to Attorney General Greaves the amendments were intended to address 'the great increase in the number of lawless and idle boys, for whom there is no room at Dodds Reformatory.'[93] He expected that 'the moderate use of the whip will be sufficiently deterrent and save the great expense attendant on expanding the reformatory.'[94] Walter Marston informed the Royal Commissioners in February 1897 that flogging had become the 'order of the day' and the wailing of juvenile offenders could be heard throughout the day.[95] The Colonial Office was unhappy about the excessive amount of strokes the law allowed[96] which in any case were not resulting in a diminution in vagrants.[97] The

Barbados legislature finally bowed to Colonial Office pressure and passed an Act in November 1899 'to reduce the number of stokes that may be inflicted upon an offender who may be ordered to be whipped or flogged.'[98] Offenders under sixteen years could not receive more than twelve strokes. Flogging nonetheless continued to be a cheap panacea as the number of under-sixteen boys who were whipped remained high as Table 5.3. indicates:

Table 5.3. Flogging Administered to Boys Under Age 16.

Year	Floggings	Year	Floggings
1897	705	1905	382
1898	684	1906	231
1899	737	1907	215
1900	959	1908	317
1901	689	1912	430
1902	463	1913	494
1903	376	1914	600
1904	225		

Source: *Blue Books*, Reports on the Criminal Statistics, 1897- 1914.

Colonial officials were similarly preoccupied with the phenomenon of crime and delinquency among young females. A summary of incarcerations for 1902 showed that women accounted for 2,155 of the total of 4,040, compared to 1,855 men.[99] A puzzled Colonial Office was told the reason lay in the sexual imbalance of the population on account of high male emigration and therefore women assumed 'the male prerogative of fighting.'[100] Indeed, the statistics showed that although men were jailed for the more serious crimes, women were incarcerated for petty crimes such as blackguarding, disorderly conduct, indecent language and soliciting in the streets. The absence of an institution to deal with female juvenile delinquents was said to be the heart of the problem. A bill providing for a reformatory for girls was passed in 1902 but financial constraints prevented its establishment.[101] The Report of the Chaplain of Prisons suggested that the criminality of female prisoners had become incurable:

> their conduct must be reported as "very bad," - there is no repressing

> influence that can be brought to bear upon them; they treat all prison punishments with contempt, and the same lawlessness, which characterizes their outside life, remains unchecked even when they are in prison.[102]

This state of affairs was not for him surprising; it was

> only the natural development of a neglected and uncared for class of girls, who reared amidst profligate associates and criminal surroundings, cannot now be brought to realize the godlessness of their lives, and consequently resent any attempts to influence them to a better way of living.' [103]

Governor Hodgson was shocked by this pessimistic Report written by a man who was a minister of the Church. Consequently, the Governor sought to find out from Bishop Swaby what plans the Established Church of England had for youth organizations and activities.[104] The Bishop, having been call to account for the nearly £16,000 of public money spent on the Church, urged his clergy to pay greater attention to youth ministry.

Church, Childhood and Youth:

The declining membership and influence of the traditional historic churches in the late nineteenth century led to renewed efforts to proselytize the youth. While not sacrificing the Sunday school as the major vehicle for indoctrinating the young, other movements were encouraged to strengthen it. One such movement was the Boys Brigade, started in Glasgow in 1883 by William A. Smith (1854-1914) an officer of the Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. Smith was a keen supporter of the YMCA and a teacher of a missionary Sunday school class of the Free College Church. The Boys Brigade grew out of an experiment by Smith to blend militarism and evangelicalism in order to instil discipline and maintain interest among the boys of his Sunday School class.[105] Uniformed in pillbox caps, belts and haversacks, young boys were willing to drill with their dummy wooden rifles and obey the basic rules of Sunday school and Bible class attendance. The scheme proved so successful that by 1892 there existed 490 companies incorporating 1,618 officers and 21,000 boys across England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. By then the movement had also spread overseas to North America, and through the British Empire. In the period 1894-95 there were 651 companies outside the United Kingdom consisting of 350 officers and 25, 350 boys.

In the British West Indies six companies were launched in St. Vincent in 1892-93 and two in Barbados in 1893.[106] Bethel Circuit of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church launched the first company in Bridgetown as a branch of its ministry.[107] The majority of Brigades established before 1900 in the British West Indies were associated with the Wesleyan-Methodists.[108] By 1897 the Wesley Guilds of the Wesleyan-Methodists had incorporated the Boys' Brigade along with other youth branches such as Bands of Hope, Busy Bees, Spelling Bees, Mission Bands and Bicycle Brigades.[109] These guilds were aimed at youths and young adults between fifteen and thirty and allowed associates who were over thirty years to join in guiding the young.[110]

Although the Boys Brigade was interdenominational, it came to be seen principally as an instrument of the Non-Conformists. The operation of a Boys Brigade at Boscobelle Boys', a school under Anglican supervision, was a notable exception.[111] By the time the Boys Brigade was launched in Barbados, the Anglican Church (in England) had already in 1891 sanctioned the establishment of its own Church Lad's Brigade to be more institutionally amenable to its control.[112] The Church Lads Brigade started its activity in Barbados from 31 August 1900 with the launching of the St. Leonard's Anglican Church CLB.[113] Like the Boys Brigade, the CLB made Sunday school attendance compulsory for its boys. Of the fifty-five boys in the St. Leonard's unit in 1902, fourteen were already communicants with another three in the confirmation class.[114] The CLB sought also to maintain interest by providing educational and recreational activity. The St. Leonard's Company possessed a library of 350 books, sponsored ambulance instruction, stretcher drill and an athletics sports day all added to its twice-weekly regular drill.[115] The CLB certainly seemed to have stirred interest in these early years and large numbers of spectators came out to witness its drill at the YMCA.[116] At Synod the Bishop pledged his hope that the CLB and the recently established Girls Friendly Society would be youth-retaining institutions for the church.[117]

Women outnumbered men as church members and Sunday School teachers. The embracing of Boys Brigades and CLBs was, in some respects, an attempt to 'defeminize' Christianity and to allay fears among adolescent boys that it was not an effete and unmanly creed. However, it is important to recognize that at the very same time the church was also renewing its efforts in preparing its young women for their own separate spheres. As early as 1892 the Anglican Church had made some belated efforts to involve the 'chief ladies of Bridgetown' in the 'essentially woman's work' of rescuing 'fallen women.'[118]

Tardiness in establishing women's institutes, Girls' Friendly Societies and so on stemmed partly from the failure or inability of the Anglican Church to mobilize its lay leadership. The Bishop in 1908 acknowledged that there were women involved in the ministry of the church as Sunday School teachers, conductors of Dorcas Meetings and sewing societies, but there was still a need for a dedicated order of deaconesses or a sisterhood to serve as parish nurses and to implement Girls' Friendly Societies.[119]

The broad discourse linking robust imperialism to strong motherhood which Davin writes about,[120] had become an article of faith in the churches. Sisterhoods under the aegis of the Wesleyan-Methodists and organizations like the Mothers' Union and the Girls Friendly Society in the Anglican Church, were established to train young women for their roles. A Mrs Townsead founded the Girls Friendly Society in England in 1874. Its objective was to strengthen family life by training girls in Christian morality and domestic responsibility.[121] Harrison points out that: 'The model G.F.S. girl was expected to be devout, kindly, seriousminded, uncomplaining and (by modern standards) relatively uninterested in the opposite sex...while simultaneously preparing themselves for a sudden and unexplained leap into Christian marriage and (afterwards) motherhood.'[122]

A Colonial Committee was established in 1896 but it was not until around 1908 that Rev. W Hutson established an unofficial branch of the G.F.S. in Barbados.[123] Recognised a few years later as an official institution in the Province of the West Indies, branches were established in Barbados, Antigua and Jamaica. W. Lambert Phillips established a branch in St. Michael in 1910, and within two years a total of eighteen churches sponsored branches.[124] Domestic servants had accounted for 57 percent of the membership of the G.F.S. in Britain in 1891 and this servant image had hindered its spread to other working groups.[125] With thirty-six years of British experience to draw upon, the promoters in Barbados decided against starting with servant girls. The strategy instead was to start at the 'top' and 'let things percolate downwards.'[126]

The G.F.S was to be a bridge between 'schooldays and motherhood' and also as Harrison observes, to feed new recruits into the Anglican church in similar fashion to the Sunday School. Well into the 1920s the G.F.S. was reported to be doing 'good work' in Barbados.[127] It is difficult to assess the full extent of the work of the G.F.S. (or for that matter the Mothers' Union or sisterhoods of the various denominations) without detail records. Clearly by 1914 their interpretations of motherhood had not yet 'percolated' downwards, or were perhaps ignored by young black mothers. For such mothers 'the black

mark of illegitimacy' continued to be registered by Anglican, Wesleyan-Methodists, and Moravians alike.[128]

It is worth reiterating that the innovations introduced by the churches were aimed primarily at discipling the youth of each particular denomination. In 1880 for instance, a Committee of the Church Council of the Anglican Church in Barbados decided against recommending an inter-denominational Sunday School Union as a way of celebrating the Centenary of the Sunday School.[129] Although the idea of a Union was not dead, by 1891 nothing more had come of the idea.[130] Similarly, the Seventeenth Session of the Eastern Annual Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists in 1901, noted the existence of 'presumably undenominational' guilds, leagues and societies engaged in work similar to their Wesley Guild. However, these were dismissed as having an 'unsatisfactory' effect of 'unhealthy restlessness.' The Conference declared: 'It is advisable that we should have our own organization over which we should have perfect control.'[131]

Such narrow denominationalism was one of the factors which severely reduced the hegemonic potential of the church over the youth. Financial constraints, inadequately developed lay leadership (among Anglicans), and the lack of enthusiasm for novel ideas by local clergy were all contributing factors. The Synod Report of 1903 showed five churches with Young Men's Institutes, nine had clubs geared for social activities but only two of these were sport oriented.[132] Few changes took place by 1912, prompting the Bishop to remind the ministers that:

> Play outdoor and indoor is wholesome. It is instructive, and play which is properly regulated is a protection and benefit, not only to the individual but to the society. The girls of your parishes too need some other occupation than sitting on the door step gossiping, or rolling on the bank, or aimlessly tramping about.[133]

His comments on the Diocesan statistics in the Synod of 1913 highlighted further the persistent failure to retain the young in the Sunday School:

> The most regrettable feature about these figures is the lack of effort concerning the young...Many of the Sunday Schools of which I have knowledge provide little to interest the child. They seem to be places where the child passes an hour in discomfort and which they are pleased to leave as soon as possible.[134]

The 'manly' innovations balanced by the 'mothering' ones to achieve appropriate

gender boundaries did not seem to make a profound impact - at least among young men, many of whom viewed church as a 'feminized' sphere. The Sunday school, of which all young persons were expected to be members, was still dominated by women. Of a total of 6, 371 on roll in Sunday School in 1908, 4,164 or 65 percent were female, and 69 percent of Sunday School teachers were women. In 1911, 67 percent of the teachers were still female.[135] The 'problem' of church-dodging by young men cut across class:

> The complaint is that the men, especially young men, do not attend church and that is true, not only of the poorer class, but of the well-to-do also...the young men of the well-to-do classes of today, are conspicuous by their absence from holy worship; and their example influences those below them in the social scale, and they think it needless to attend church too.[136]

It was outside the direct evangelical thrust of the church that popular youth organizations became more entrenched. The secular organizations became more essentially incorporated into the 'public school ethic' of the First Grade boys schools, Harrison College and Lodge, and the premier Second Grade school, Combermere.

The Provision of Secondary Education

Education had its more profound influence at the secondary level. It was better funded, employed better qualified staff, and its middle and upper class beneficiaries could enjoy schooling uninterrupted by labour. The total number of persons receiving secondary education did not exceed 1.5 percent of the total school population up to 1911. One must hasten to add that the percentage for the male population was 2.25 percent compared to a meagre .59 percent for the female school population in 1911. However, the extent of the influence of these educated men to national leadership and culture belied the low enrolment.

Secondary schools were divided as First Grade and Second Grade Schools, following the recommendations of the Mitchinson Commission of 1875-77.[137] The former provided an education for its students up to age eighteen based on a curriculum grounded in the Classics and Modern Studies. Second Grade schooling catered for pupils up to age sixteen and followed a more restrictive yet modern curriculum aimed at creating and sustaining a middle class of functionaries in commerce and the lower end of the civil service.[138] The highest prize in the system was the Barbados Scholarship to Oxbridge,

where the 'very best raw material' was sent to absorb the 'higher culture' of the Mother Country.[139] Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, members of the Barbadian elite sent their children to Eton, Harrow and other outstanding British public schools. This practice became even more difficult with the late nineteenth-century sugar crisis. Barbados created its own elite secondary schools after the British public school model to provide the foundation for the civilizing mission founded on Anglocentric values.

Foremost among these schools was Harrison College which was first established in 1733 as the Harrison Free School by Thomas Harrison, a Bridgetown merchant.[140] It was originally founded as a 'Public and Free School for the poor and indigent boys of the Parish,' but by an Act of 18 October 1870 the legislature approved its reorganization as a 'good grammar school' for the education of 'the better classes.'[141] This reorganization was aimed at bringing it into line with the mid-Century developments in the British public schools. Harrison College was removed to another site with provision for a playing field since

> such an adjunct is considered in the mother country to be absolutely necessary to the success of a good school for the following reasons - that it is in the playground that the manly bearing of the boys is encouraged and the master is enabled to see much of the habits and character of the boys; and that it would give a healthy tone to their training, in addition to their "intellectual culture"'[142]

The headmaster who was especially influential in bringing about this transformation was Horace Deighton, an 1854 MA graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge.[143] Deighton's first appointment in the West Indies was at the prestigious Queen's Collegiate School (formerly Queen's Royal College) in Trinidad, where he served from 1859 to 1872. While there he contributed to a new scheme of education which was launched in 1870.[144] At Harrison College, Deighton set about strengthening the teaching of the Classics, English Grammar and Composition, French, History and Geography. In six successive years from 1874 a pupil of the school won the Gilchrist Scholarship which offered colonials an opportunity to study at an English University.[145] The Barbados Scholarship, first awarded in 1879, was won by Harrison College scholars 34 times between 1879 and 1914. Harrison College rose to the eminence of possibly the most prestigious school in the British West Indies. Deighton appointed a number of fellow 'muscular Christians' to his staff who diffused the cult of athleticism. One correspondent supportive of the cult argued:

> all enlightened parents... will know that the knowledge of foreign languages and Mathematics (however excellent that knowledge is in itself) is to be counted as nothing when compared with the moral training which we seek to instil in our little ones by means of the public schools, and that the play ground, and not the school desk, as the forge whereon the characters of our boys are principally moulded for their good.[146]

Besides athleticism, Classics constituted the cornerstone of the curriculum of the First Grade elite boys' school. The utility of Latin and Greek was sometimes criticised but school and government authorities roundly defended the subject. The Governor in stoutly defending the teaching of Classics at a Harrison College Speech Day said: 'If we are deprived of the study of Greek and Latin literature, the first thirteen centuries of the experience of the civilized world would be closed to us.'[147] The 'civilized world' was that of white Europeans of course.

A similar ethos was fostered by the Lodge School which opened in 1745 as the Codrington Grammar School. It was founded in partial fulfilment of the 1710 Will of Christopher Codrington, gentleman planter, soldier, and philanthropist.[148] The school at its inception offered Classics, Mathematics, Philosophy and Religious Studies.[149] Between 1819 and 1829 scholarships, valued at £100 per year for four years, were awarded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) who ran the Codrington estate. These scholarships enabled Barbadian boys to study at British Universities and were the forerunner of the Barbados Scholarship.[150] The legislature accepted Lodge for a public grant as a first class grammar school in 1869 and confirmed it subsequently as a First Grade school as recommended by the Mitchinson Commission.

Unlike Harrison College the fortune of the school was more chequered. Lodge experienced three changes in headteachers between 1864-79. It was closed from 1879-1880 owing to financial problems, and again changed headmasters four times between 1892 and the arrival of Emtage in 1899.[151] The arrival of Oliver De Courcy 'Bill' Emtage signalled a change in the fortunes of the school. Emtage had been a student under Deighton at Harrison College from 1879 and won the Barbados Scholarship in 1886. He entered Oxford and graduated with a first class BA in Mathematics and an MA in Physics. He was appointed assistant master at Harrison College on his return to Barbados, where he taught for eight years until his appointment as headmaster of Lodge. Emtage's tenure at Lodge lasted for thirty-two years. The 'Chief' as he was affectionately called by his students, established Lodge firmly in the model of a British public school securing for it

a reputation throughout the West Indies as Harrison College had done.[152] Under Emtage's leadership the number of boarders was increased, prefects were appointed, and a house system was introduced. Herbert Dalton who succeeded Deighton at Harrison College, also established a house system there.[153] Mangan observes that the house system was widely established in England by 1870.[154] Emtage would have become familiar with it during his years in England although the student J. W. Bradshaw claims that '[t]he idea emanated entirely from the boys...'[155]

The house system at Lodge, which was limited initially to the encouragement of competitive athleticism, was extended in the second term of 1910-11 to stimulate competitiveness in every school department.[156] There were a number of reasons for establishing the house and prefectoral system. It was thought to foster *esprit de corp* while keeping the spirit of competitiveness alive. The system at once relieved teachers of some disciplinary duties while fostering leadership, initiative and self-reliance. A British schoolmaster once stated: 'A boy who, at nineteen, can rule a house at a public school, at fifty can rule a nation.'[157] Emtage in his Report to the Governing Body for the 1908-09 year remarked that discipline in the school was 'perfect' and 'extremely easy to maintain' owing to the cadet corp and the system of monitors.[158] His colleague Herbert Dalton over at Harrison College also credited the prefects for contributing to the good discipline and moral tone of his school.[159]

The British public school model was not restricted to the two First Grade boys' schools, but it was replicated at Combermere. Reorganized in 1879 to replace the old Central Boys School in Bridgetown, Combermere soon established itself as the top Second Grade School. There the boys also got a taste of the Classics but the curriculum was biased towards modern and commercial studies. Combermere became the major centre for educating and preparing lower middle classes boys to serve as commercial clerks and the lower ranks of the civil service. The Alleyne School in St. Andrew, the Coleridge School in St. Peter, and the Parry School in St. Lucy, were three other government-supported Second Grade boys' schools but their contribution to the creation and expansion of a middle class paled in insignificance when compared to Combermere.

The popularity of Combermere may be seen in the steady rise in its enrolment from the late 1870s.[160] Like Lodge and Harrison College, Combermere credits its success to outstanding headmasters. Between 1879 and 1896 Rev. T. Lyall Speed, a former colleague of Deighton, started to lay the foundation of a model middle class institution. But it was

George Bishop Richardson Burton who would set the most indelible stamp on the school as its headmaster for twenty-eight years between 1897 and 1925. Burton was also a former Harrison College student who had fallen under the influence of Horace Deighton in the early 1870s. Burton won an Island scholarship to Codrington College where he excelled in the Classics and earned an external bachelor's degree from Durham University. He joined the staff of the Coleridge School after graduation but soon after became the headmaster and proceeded to gain national recognition for raising the standard there.[161]

It was as headmaster of Combermere that he excelled. He consolidated that school's commitment to athleticism, gave encouragement to the establishment of the school's magazine, the *Combermerian,* and founded the 'Set' system 'to promote a healthy rivalry amongst the boys of the school so as to make them keener at both books and games'.[162] Burton loved the Empire and his enthusiasm for the vehicles of cultural imperialism knew no bounds. Combermere participated in the Correspondence Scheme of the League of Empire. This scheme encouraged school children in the colonies to correspond with school children in Britain as a means of cementing the imperial bonds.[163] Burton also launched at Combermere the first troop of Boy Scouts in Barbados in 1912. The boys of the black and coloured lower-middle class who in increasing numbers were attending Combermere, would become some of the greatest defenders of Empire and the 'white bias.'

Remarkably each one of these elite schools was influenced directly or indirectly by Horace Deighton. In general they all fostered reverence for leadership which assumed almost cultic proportions. This was reinforced by the fact that headteachers of these schools had the authority and responsibility for the whole internal organization and discipline of the school, including the choice of text books and the arrangement of classes and curricula as well as the power of appointment and dismissal of assistant masters (subject only to the approval of the Board of education). Graduates became known as Deighton, Dalton, Burton or Emtage 'boys.' The links between the elite schools and its 'old boys' were never broken, but sustained by school magazines, honour rolls, alumni and the employment of old boys as teachers, scout or cadet masters. The exploits of 'old boys' were chronicled in school magazines and their names regularly punctuated the addresses of headmasters at Speech Days. The way in which these schools invented tradition from the late 1870s as a means to sustain their elitism was remarkable. These institutions were

previously no more than charity schools for non-elite whites but were transformed into model first class public school types contending among themselves for historical precedence.[164]

Women and Secondary Education

At the time of the Mitchinson Report on education in Barbados there were unsettled debates as to 'whether girls should receive identically the same education as boys, [or] whether their capacities are precisely the same...'[165] There was no doubt that what little available secondary education for females was 'unsound and flimsy, narrow in range, and wanting in thoroughness.'

> ...moreover, the most valuable part of a young child's education, including the formation of its taste, and the development of its mental capacities, depends mainly on early maternal teaching, it is idle to expect the boys in our first and second-grade schools to go there well prepared and receptive of culture till this is remedied. So that after all, perhaps the key to the problem of education really is to be found in the establishment, if possible, of thoroughly sound female education in the Colony.[166]

In other words a modicum of higher education was desirable for women to improve their nurturing and mothering skills so that their sons could be the *real* beneficiaries of higher education. The former Girls Central School in Bridgetown was reorganized under the 1878 Education Act and reopened its doors to thirty-three girls in January 1883.[167] Originally intended to be a Second Grade school, Queen's College was accorded First Grade status by an Act of 1884. Although designated a First Grade institution, authorities were not convinced about 'the capacity of women for equality in the intellectual race' as the *Herald* had indicated.[168] This was demonstrated by the fact that Queen's College received an annual grant of £400 compared to the £1000 for Harrison College. The salary of the headmistress of Queen's College was £200 annually, or one-third that of the £600 paid to her counterpart at Harrison College, and £50 below the headmaster of Combermere.[169]

The Bree Education Commission of 1894-96 recommended a separate scholarship for girls tenable at a University accepting women, but this was not implemented. When it was decided to open the coveted Barbados Scholarship to girls in the early 1900s, the gesture was said to be 'a barren gift, and will remain so until they are put on equal terms with boys.'[170] The curriculum differences certainly presented a problem. An amendment

to the Education Act in 1897 extended the narrow base for the scholarship examination from just Classics and Mathematics to include Natural or Agricultural Science.[171] Harrison College was the only institution where science could be taught at a higher level, although as early as 1889 the headmistress of Queen's College had sought permission to send a few girls over to Harrison College to do practical chemistry.[172] Latin was also introduced to Queen's College following the recommendation of the 1894-96 Commission and the subsequent request by the headmistress.[173] The prospect of either a science or a classical scholarship winner for Queen's College was slim indeed. The Swaby Report therefore recommended the addition of Modern Languages with Modern History as another subject upon which the scholarship examination could be taken, thereby giving girls a possible chance.[174] Examples such as W. K. Chandler, Master of Chancery and Sir Herbert Greaves, Attorney General who financed their daughters' education at the University of Cambridge were rare.[175] No woman won a Barbados Scholarship until Elsie Pilgrim did so in modern studies in 1946.[176]

Class, race and place of residence combined with gender inequality to ensure that girls from lower in the social order were disadvantaged most of all. Up to the end of 1893 Queen's College had been the only government-supported high school for girls compared to six for boys including two first and four second grades. This was remedied only slightly in September 1894 by the opening of the Alexandra School in the parish of St. Peter as a second grade school for girls.[177] Table 5.4. indicates that Alexandra catered primarily for the planters and their functionaries in the Leeward part of the island.

Table 5.4. Alexandra Pupils, 1894- 1914: Profession of Parents/Guardians

Planters & Estate Managers	183	Clerks	17
Clergymen	14	Schoolmasters	11
Artisans	11	Parochial Officials	10
Shopkeepers	6	Doctors	5
Other Professions	3	Agricultural labourers	0

Source: Alexandra School Admission Registers, 1894-1959. In BPL.

In 1898 a similar school called Victoria was established in the parish of St. Andrew.[178] It's enrolment did not surpass eleven pupils, perhaps due more to the small number of planters and middle class persons in the parish than the low population density

in the area as a whole. Reginald Barrow observed racism in local education in that parish in 1917,[179] however gender was perhaps as fundamental as race in the allocation of secondary education. The Victoria School was closed when its enrolment reached six in 1903, whereas the Alleyne School for boys in the same parish and with a similar low intake was spared.[180]

Whereas Combermere became the Mecca for the sons of clerks, petty civil servants, and artisans, no other second grade school existed in the parish of St. Michael to cater to their female counterparts. The roll of Queen's College rarely exceeded one hundred.[181] One reason was the difficulty which the burgeoning army of white collar clerks found in affording the termly fees of £2. 10 for the Preparatory Class and £3.6.8 for the advanced classes. A number of private schools were opened to meet the needs of those who could not pay the high fees or who were not fortunate enough to benefit from a scholarship or a vestry exhibition. The Ursuline Convent, for example, opened its doors in 1894 offering a curriculum said to be the same as Queen's College but charging considerably less - $7.20 [£1.10] for juniors and $12.00 [£2.10] for the seniors.[182] In 1887 there were ten private schools operating in St. Michael - four boys' and six girls'. By 1897 the number had increased to twenty-three; approximately sixteen for girls and seven for boys.[183] The Swaby Commission acknowledged that some private schools were succeeding in preparing children for subsequent entry to public schools. However they thought that '[e]ducation, unless given from motives of pure charity, cannot be at once cheap and efficient.'[184] Their recommendation for a second grade girls' school in Bridgetown did not materialize until the late 1920s. Petitions from the ratepayers in the Windward parishes of St. John, St. Philip and St. Joseph[185] requesting a secondary girls school also went unfulfilled.[186]

It must be pointed out that these petitions were for schools to cater for the young women from planter families far removed from the city or for the 'respectable and refined' sections of the lower middle or upper working class. Perhaps this was a lesson that young Henrietta Griffith took through the rest of her life. Henrietta was appointed by the Board of Education as the First Grade exhibitioner to Queen's College but Alice James the headmistress made it clear: 'Ms Griffith has not had any training to make her in anyway a fit companion for girls at a first grade school.'[187] Miss James' judgment of character was extraordinarily acute. Indeed, Henrietta registered on 22 January 1900 and was promptly told by the headmistress not to obtain books for it was 'imperative that she should be removed.' Exactly one week later Miss James succeeded in having the case brought

before the Board of Governors who upheld her decision.[188] Queen's College was to remain a bastion of class snobbery and latent racism for many years to come. The superciliousness of the 'imported' Queen's College mistresses themselves did not escape the *Times* a few years before. These mistresses were said to

> look down with contempt upon the people of Barbados. In their eyes we are only "natives," that is, aborigines of an inferior stock to themselves, and ought to be delighted at their condescension in coming here to enlighten us. Imbued with these notions, they endeavour to pose as personages of very great distinction.[189]

Cole observes that 'the impression is conveyed of providing a 'finishing' school for upper and middle class girls rather than a sound academic education, so that they would be adequately prepared for their roles as wives of professionals.'[190] Unfortunately for Henrietta, and for so many others, the 'training' which middle and upper-class women gained through their governesses and in private schools was unavailable. It was at the private school of Miss Haversaat at Collymore Rock where the daughter of the Bridgetown merchant John Gardiner Austin was 'prepared' before he took her to be educated in England at age eleven.[191] There were in addition to regular private schools teachers offering specialised tuition. There were thirty of these teachers in 1897-98 and of these eighteen were women. Of the eighteen, twelve offered piano lessons sometimes in combination with singing or dancing an about two offered painting.[192] Such lessons were essential in the 'refining' process in preparing middle and upper class-women to fulfil their duties as wives, hostesses or governesses. The fact that only one school offered cookery lessons for the London Certificate is not surprising as most of these girls were destined to have their own domestic servants.

The Swaby Commission acknowledged that not all women marry and these ought to be provided with the kind of education suitable for those jobs which were open to unmarried women.[193] However, this Commission like previous ones could only envisage women in nurturing and mothering roles:

> the most imperative duties of a community is to educate those who will be the mothers of the next generation and on whose outlook upon life the characters of the men and women of the future will depend in an incalculable degree. If human life is to be redeemed from selfishness and frivolity, it is the mothers who must be educated.[194]

Literature and Socialization

During the late nineteenth century the cost of reading material plummeted following the revolution in printing technology, the availability of cheaper paper and the operation of publishing enterprises based on the large turnover of cheap literature. Expanded education meant that there was a wider market for literature. Literacy, like formal education, could be a two-edged sword and concerns were consistently expressed about the types of cheap literature that filtered down to the masses, and the young in particular. With the exception of newspapers the majority of literature read in Barbados came from the presses of English publishers. The cheap paperback reprints by Routledge, Cassell, Ward, Lock and Tyler made the 'classics' available for as low as 3d.[195] The poetry of Burns and Keats, along with Shakespeare's plays were available at Barrow's for a penny each.[196]

The church and plantocracy cooperated in an attempt to harness literacy to secure a commitment from literate labouring class persons to the plantation enterprise. For example, the Bibles, Testaments and other reading books supplied by the absentee owner of Andrew's Plantation were distributed by J. Y. Edghill of the Moravian Church.[197] A few years earlier Edghill had attributed the loyalty and orderliness of the people to the circulation of the Bible among them.[198] Anglican clergy were also being exhorted to establish reading rooms and libraries and by 1903 three were established in the Diocese.[199] Book prizes were also becoming common gifts to participants in essay-writing competitions and exhibitions of children's work in agriculture, needlework and drawing. There was indeed a remarkable spread of popular juvenile literature throughout the country by 1914 but it was still the children and youth of the lower middle class upwards upon whom popular literacy had the greatest impact. Apart from the family Bible, and the church song book, reading material remained a luxury in black working class homes. The stark reality of work on the plantations and at home meant that long hours poring over adventure stories was a luxury which many could hardly afford. The chronic shortage of school books and the nonexistence of school libraries plagued the education system[200] and the few texts that were available were not allowed off the school premises.[201]

However, even for the lower middle class and respectable working-class children there was a preference for the rough-and-tumble stories in the 'penny dreadfuls' published

by Henty, Newnes, Kingston and W. T. Stead, which subverted Victorian middle-class values and authority symbols.[202] The leading characters in these stories were rebellious working-class boys who pursued a rewarding life of adventurous crime having flaunted school and parental authority. A local newspaper noted:

> The press also deluges us with literature which panders to the low tastes of certain classes of people. We have "penny dreadfuls" in which highwaymen, burglers, and grisettes figure as the heroes and heroines. There is the foolish "boy literature," in which a bad boy who runs away from home joins a ship, and has bloody encounters with pirates and savages, winding up a startling career with discovering hidden treasure on a desert isle.[203]

Mackenzie suggests that this focus on rebellion might have reflected an implicit class resistance against authority figures such as public school headmasters, who from the 1850s were attempting to assert control over their pupils by athleticism.[204]

This genre of juvenile literature did not go unchallenged and some rivals such as the *Boys Own Paper,* launched by the Religious Tract Society in England in 1878, were established featuring the 'spirited' activities of youth but aiming at inculcating 'positive' values. In this 'new' literature youthful aggression was externalized from the highways and school hallways of England to 'native' lands and directed against usually black 'savages.' The heroes were more public school types, missionaries, colonial officials, and more especially military heroes.[205] This literature reflected a growing British imperialism in which the themes of racism, manly aggression, adventure and conquest were epitomized. The early 1800s juvenile literature was pitched at both sexes but the late Victorian and early Edwardian literature emphasised the separate spheres of boys and girls.[206] The heroes were now predominantly men and girls literature, like the *Girls Own Paper*, concentrated on the submissive roles of child-rearing and house keeping.

Young people from at least a lower middle class background, living in Bridgetown or the suburbia of St. Michael, were better placed to obtain a wider range of literature than those from rural working class backgrounds. The sole Public Library was in Bridgetown and in 1882 it held an estimated eighteen to twenty thousand volumes besides periodicals.[207] The *Taxpayer* in 1886 observed that 3,450 borrowed books from the Public Library which had a collection estimated at one book to ten thousand persons in the population.[208] The Library would have been limited in its impact because it opened only during regular working hours and there was the stark absence of a reading room.[209] In

any case it was not the improving' literature that borrowers favoured but the melodramatic "music-hall" novels read for sheer entertainment.[210]

The well-to-do families might have been the only ones who could afford the latest editions of the various juvenile periodicals brought by the fortnightly Mail Steamer. However some of the dated creased and crumpled copies that had already passed many eager hands found their way into the hovels of black working class boys and girls by way of domestic servants. C. L. R. James, as a lower middle-class adolescent growing up in colonial Trinidad at the beginning of this century, admitted to being profoundly influenced by British popular juvenile literature. He remembers the literature that passed from hand to hand such as the *Boy's Own Paper, The Captain*, annuals such as *Young England* and the P.G. Wodehouse stories.[211] He states: 'These we understood, these we lived by; the principles they taught we absorbed through the pores and practised instinctively. The books we read in class meant little to most of us.'[212] Frank Collymore who was from a coloured lower middle class background was similarly immersed in this literature in *fin de siècle* Barbados. Frank had been taught to read by his mother and to write by his Grandmother Bessie before his formal education commenced at age six.[213] In his sheltered middle class boyhood he revelled in the monthly copies of The Children's Friend and W. T. Stead's penny series, the *Books for the Bairns,* which were all available from Bowen & Sons at 3d each.[214] In addition he read 'penny dreadfuls' like *Dick Turpin, Robin Hood, Deadwood Dick* and *Buffalo Bill.*[215]

The racial, ethnocentric and aggressive imperialistic themes of that literature appeared to have been left unquestioned by both readers and the parents who provided them. Frank Collymore's first vista on the wider world was through a couple of large illustrated volumes found in an unused cupboard which '... dealt with life among various savage tribes, and, as they were fully illustrated, I gained some knowledge of remote countries and their inhabitants...' A newspaper columnist concluded that parents seemed not to care after he observed a 'respectably dressed boy of about 7' with four of the penny books on a tram car.[216] Frank's father bought him two or three every week.[217] This columnist was out of step with the times. Dunae points out '...although the newer periodicals co-opted the aggressive spirit which had characterized the 'penny dreadfuls', the aggression was redirected into outlets which a new generation of conservative critics found acceptable.'[218] The heroes were not now working class roughs and truants, but persons with whom the West Indian adolescent in the elite secondary schools could

identify.

The combination of formal secondary education, mainstream Christianity, and popular literary culture, promoted the idea of the superiority and dominance of white Europeans generally, and the British in particular. On the other hand the non-white peoples of the world were pictured as heathen, backward and part of the 'white man's burden.' These ideas themselves helped to bolster local white hegemony in cultural terms but it was at the middle-class level where this cultural hegemony took root. In due course it was for such ideas that many Barbadian boys would make the ultimate sacrifice.

Voluntary Youth Movements, National Defence and Imperialism

Springhall and Summers have drawn attention to the theme of defensive militarism which saturated English voluntary youth movements during the 1900s.[219] Wilkinson concludes that the energies of the young in these movements were harnessed by adult leadership to fulfil goals of 'imperial defence, national defence, international cooperation, national efficiency, and so on.'[220] There were some resonances to be found in many sections of voluntary youth organizations in Barbados, many of which were branches of English organizations. As in England defensive militarism was a dominant theme.

Barbados faced its own defence concerns at the turn of the century as well. The country was left to debate its defence options after the British government accepted the recommendation of an 1879 Royal Commission to consolidate and locate its scattered military and naval resources in the region to the coaling stations of Jamaica and St. Lucia.[221] The legislature eventually approved a bill to re-establish a local volunteer force in 1901 after intermittent debates from 1885.[222] Persistent cane fires and a series of organised potato raids throughout the 1890s, served as further stimuli to boost national defence.[223] One writer among the absentee interests warned: 'The negro race are acknowledged to be excitable, and when their passions are roused neither reason nor interest will keep them in check.'[224]

The Attorney General reminded the House during the debate on the Volunteers Bill that the performance of the Boers in the South African War demonstrated the value of training volunteers in early manhood to use rifles.[225] Following a review of the fifty-two member CLB of St. Leonard's, Governor Hodgson expressed his hope that it would contribute to the creation of a cadet corp associated with the volunteers.[226] The CLB

in England accepted the War Office's offer of affiliation to the Cadet Force in 1911.[227] Although this kind of relationship was nonexistent in Barbados, individuals from the CLB would have joined the cadets and the volunteers. It was the elite secondary schools which provided organized cadets to feed the Barbados volunteers. In early 1904 both the governing bodies of Harrison College and the Lodge School approved proposals to establish cadet corps.[228] One hundred boys were ready to join at Harrison College,[229] but it was the Lodge which launched the first organized corp in Barbados and indeed the British West Indies.[230] The founding of cadet corps coincided with the growing popularity of quasi-military drill in the schools as well as in some established youth organizations.

The YMCA resolved in 1901 to add drill to its programme to stimulate interests amongst youth in the city.[231] Burton at Combermere had his request for forty dollars to buy wooden rifles denied in 1902, but a couple years later was granted other gymnastic equipment and the permission to secure a drill instructor. [232] Not satisfied with the results of its drill class, Deighton and Hall proposed a full cadet scheme for Harrison College in 1905.[233] At Lodge school physical drill was placed on the curriculum in 1902 and replaced by company drill for the senior boys a year later.[234] The amended Volunteer Act of 1907 permitted cadet corps of boys twelve years and upwards to be attached to the Volunteer Force without the necessity of enrolment.[235] Three companies, one each from Harrison College, Lodge, and Combermere, constituted the Cadet Corps.

Table 5.5. Barbados Cadet Corps, 1909-14.

Years	Harrison College		Lodge		Combermere		Totals	
	Roll	Cadets	Roll	Cadets	Roll	Cadets	Roll	Cadets
1909	182	67	53	46	173	52	408	165
1910	172	61	52	44	171	51	395	156
1911	158	56	55	53	176	58	389	167
1914	151	77	71	68	181	58	403	203

Source: Blue Books and Barbados Volunteers Annual Reports.

At Lodge the popularity of cadets was especially high and there was a membership equivalent to 86.8 percent of enrolment in 1909 which climbed to 95.8 percent in 1914.

This was extraordinarily high even if consideration is given to the possible participation of a few old boys. At Harrison College the cadets rose from 36.8 percent of enrolment to 51 percent in 1914. Participation overall rose from 40.4 percent of enrolment at the beginning to just over 50 percent by 1914. Combermere's cadets represented no more than 32 percent of enrolment but this does not provide an accurate measurement of the imperialist fervour in that school. First, as the fastest growing secondary school in the island, Combermere would have had more boys under the age of twelve ineligible for recruitment. Secondly, because the school drew its pupils from the lower middle class many of them could not afford the extra 13s. 6d (10s for the uniform and 3s. 6d. for the felt hat.)[236] Indeed, Major Clarke observed that the company at Combermere consisted mainly of younger boys. He was told that it was because parents were willing to provide only one suit and consequently that boys had to leave the company when they grew out of it.[237] A third reason for Combermere's smaller company lay in the fact that from 1912 the school was actually buzzing with the activity of two uniformed voluntary groups - the Boy Scouts as well as the Cadet Corps.

Baden Powell, a hero of the Boer War, formally established the Boy Scouts in England in 1908. The Boy Scouts Movement has attracted sustained interest by social historians of imperialism, popular culture and youth over the past twenty years.[238] Springhall, in a seminal article, located scouting within the British imperialistic militarism of the early 1900s. He argues that the Scouts movement was used by Edwardian political elites to further their political agenda of imperialism. This position has been supported by Summers but rejected by Warren.[239] Warren views the social control and militaristic theses as too narrow and simplistic. Rather, he sees scouting as part of a developing ideology in which citizenship training and education were central to its programme, not producing soldiers for political ends. Warren thinks that the charge of militarism levelled at Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts was the result of the movements' lack of specific religious aims.[240] Warren's analysis is no more balanced than those who have espoused the militarism thesis. As Springhall and Summer have pointed out, Warren seemed to have studiously avoided the many explicit references in the Scout archives to the militaristic objectives of the movement, an objective as Rosenthal discovered was made explicit in the Eton College Chronicle of 22 December 1904.[241] Nevertheless, the problem with this debate has been the tendency to take extreme polar views of what as Warren has correctly pointed out was a more pluralistic movement. Citizenship training and military

preparedness were not mutually exclusive aims. The 'peace scout', as model citizen and do-gooder, was also expected to be among the first to take up arms for the Empire should this become necessary.

The initiative to establish scouting in Barbados came from Rev. Fitz Patrick who once served as Chaplain to the 1st Finsborough Troop in Suffolk, England. In a letter dated 1 December 1910, he expressed a desire to establish a branch in Barbados and requested an introductory letter to the Governor.[242] Fitz Patrick expected his former colleagues at Harrison College and other public schools to sanction the movement for both blacks and whites.[243] Following Fitz Patrick's initial audiences with the Governor and with Dr Dalton of Harrison College, meetings of headmasters and officials were held from April 1911 to March 1912 before the final agreement at a meeting of 9 March 1912 to establish the Barbados Scouts Association.[244] Dalton said that the Cadet Corps and games were already consuming the time of masters and students at Harrison College. However, Burton enthusiastically introduced scouting to Combermere and was convinced that it could coexist viably with the cadet company.[245] Practice started on Friday 23 February 1912 and Combermere's two Scout masters, C. W. Springer and V. A. Southwell, along with two assistants and fifty-six boys was the first troop registered when the BBSA was formally lauched.[246]

Baden-Powell himself, on an eight-month tour of the West Indies, North America, New Zealand, South Africa, Japan and China, gave his blessing to the then fledgling efforts of Burton on 15 January 1912.[247] He left the West Indies with the distinct impression that colour posed a difficulty to the movement. He noted that in Barbados and Demerara 'only white boys are Scouts'; separate troops for whites and coloureds were said to exist in Trinidad, and mixed troops in Jamaica.[248] The conclusion Baden-Powell formed from his brief encounter with the embryonic group in Barbados was somewhat premature. The majority of the black and coloured middle classes received their secondary education at Combermere School and C. W. Springer its first joint-scoutmaster and many of its members were coloured.

Baden-Powell's tour convinced him of the practical value of Boy scouting for the Empire. He saw the movement as having the potential to inculcate restraint and a sense of duty (especially in the more forward and self-reliant overseas boy) as well as the potential to remove racial antagonism to promote international peace and imperial solidarity, and provide training for the cadet service.[249] Baden-Powell was constantly on

the defence against those who associated his movement with jingoistic militarism. Reiterating the organization and purpose of the movement to one Captain MacIlwain, Baden-Powell noted that,

> its object is far above that of merely obtaining a few hundred recruits for the Territorials. Its object is to train the individual boy, if possible, throughout the whole of the rising generation and to inculcate into him an idea of manliness, unselfishness, self-discipline and patriotism - in a word to promote good citizenship in the ^future nation.[250]

He disliked the narrow focus of the training provided for cadets and military recruits but was not really opposed to preparing boys for imperial defence. Although drill was important, it represented a very small aspect of scouting. The Combermere Scouts, for example, during their first year of operation conducted two camps, three route marches, four games meetings, four signalling sessions, six first aid training classes, one parade each at Speech Day, Empire Day and at Government House, as well as providing musical accompaniment for the cadets on four occasions.[251]

When Brigadier-General Dalyrymple Hay inspected the Combermere troop in June 1914, he was apologetic for not having the opportunity to change his military uniform. He informed the boys 'you are Boy scouts, not scouts in the military sense.'[252] Baden-Powell was so impressed with this speech when he read it in the *Combermere School Magazine* that he wrote to Burton offering his congratulations on the progress of the movement at the school.[253] Every effort was made to distance the Boy Scouts from charges of militarism in service of the state. The Governor, patron of the movement, was happy that it was totally voluntary and separate from government, as Baden-Powell envisaged.[254]

Nevertheless, the emphasis on sexual sublimation, spontaneous heroism and selfless patriotism were ideals which prepared many boys to surrender their lives for the Empire. At age fourteen, Cyril A. D. Chase a first class badge holder, patrol leader and King Scout, outlined reasons for joining the movement:

> I deduced, firstly that, an employer would prefer to employ a Boy Scout to an ordinary boy, and secondly, that the more boys there are with a scout's training, the more liable is England to hold her place of supremacy in future generations. My next move was to read tales on scouting, and, when I saw how many scouts had saved life, some of them laying down their own while doing so, I was inspired with that enthusiasm which any descendant of

> Britain's heroes feels on hearing of deeds of bravery done by another be he friend or foe.[255]

These were not empty juvenile opinions, for the depth of imperial sentiment inculcated by muscular Christianity, Cadets, Boy Scouts, and popular literature was very real and came to be tested in the crucible of World War One.

The outbreak of the War absolved Scout leaders from being apologetic about militarism. A circular of 4 August 1914 instructed Scout Commissioners to make the Scouts available for any service required in the war effort.[256] All those hours spent in ambulance drill, despatch running, mock battles and signalling would now be tested. E. D. Redman, a former officer of the Combermere Cadet Corps acknowledged that the actual training as a Cadet was of little practical value, but 'the soldierly spirit which the corps created in me has, I am sure, been the cause of my desire to join the colours, and to fight against the wretched Hun for a cause; and I am now proud of being a member of His Majesty's Army.'[257] J. C. Hope, a former patrol leader, first class badge holder, and the first King's Scout, wrote extolling the discipline he received at Combermere: 'It was there I learnt the rudiments of drill, there I became a scout, and there I started correspondence as a member of the League of the Empire. I mention these because of the advantages I have derived from them.'[258] H. H. Williams found that the signalling he learnt as a Combermere Scout served him well when he was transferred to a signalling unit, and C. Ivor Proverbs was drafted directly into his company because of his former experience as a cadet and a volunteer.[259] These are but a sampling of the many bits of correspondence reproduced in The *Combermere School Magazine* and probably served propaganda purposes. However, there is no basis to doubt the earnestness and sincerity of the boys at the front.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Old Harrisonians. Lieutenant A. G. C. Kaye, was proud of the way that 'the staunch spirit of patriotism' at his Alma Mater had been reproduced in war service by old boys, and expressed the hope that the Cadet Corps was still going strong.[260] Harrison College's 'Roll of Honour' in 1918, showed that of the sixty-seven old boys who had given war service, fifty-seven had once been members of the Cadet Corps.[261] Those who were too young to enlist churned out their patriotic messages as rousing poems.[262] Twelve year old Leighton V. Stoute urged:

> Boys, come over here, you're wanted/ To your Empire's Glorious Call;/

> When she calls she surely needs you,/ Boys, you must not shirk at all.// Boys, be thrifty, Boys, be true, /Make your Empire proud of you; /Come and take your sword in hand,/ And join your Empire's Glorious band!/ So, Boys, come and Volunteer,/ To hunt the Hun with sword and spear;/ Tell your Brothers all to come,/ And Volunteer to hunt the Hun![263]

The initial unwillingness of the imperial government to recruit non-whites to join the allies in 'hunting the Hun,'[264]as well as the experiences of racial discrimination in the British Army, diminished but did not extinquish the imperial ideology which had been in part responsible for white colonial hegemony in the British West Indies.

Chapter 5

1. Some examples are: 1868--1, Larceny (Consolidated) Act, secs., 4, 6 & 8; 1868--5, Offences Against the Person Act, sec 19 (1).

2. 1890--35, Reformatory Act, sec. 26; 1896--18, Police Magistrate's & Assistant Court of Appeal (Amendment) Act, sec. 4 (10).

3. 1905--20, Police Magistrate Act, sec. 22.

4. See Thompson's provocative critique of 'Social Control' In the historiography of British social history. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain,' *Economic History Review* Second Series, 34: 2, (May 1981), 189-208.

5. See, Starkey, *Economic Geography*, 186-87; Roberts, 'Emigration from Barbados,' 280-81.

6. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt III, 'Barbados' memoranda 226 & 228 by Gooding and Hutson respectively.

7. Ibid., p. 177, para. 615.

8. Ibid., para. 618.

9. BCP 21 Oct. 1891.

10. The Registration of Deaths Act 1924 still had a number of serious gaps. See Kucynski, *Demographic Survey*, 88-90.

11. See PP 1904 (Cd. 2175; 2210; 2186) XXXII, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration.*

12. Circular No. 3 Colonial Secretary's Office, 8 Feb. 1906. In *St. George's Vestry Poor Law Guardian Minute Book, 1903-1910*, in BPL.

13. CO 28/268, no 178, Knaggs to Earl of Elgin 4 Sept 1907 w encl 'Report of Vital Statistics'; minute by 'T. C. M.'

14. Chairman of St. George's Poor Law Guardians to Knaggs, 12 March 1906. This fact was expressed by a clergyman almost two decades before, BCP 9 Nov. 1887, 443.

15. Ibid., Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 20.

16. Ibid., 19, for the experience of young women in England. For children in England generally, see Walvin, *Child's World*, 30-44.

17. Mehatabel Burslem, 'A West Indian Childhood,' Typescript in Rhodes House Library, ff. 128-29.

18. Ibid., ff. 130-31.

19. Chairman of Poor Law Guardians of St. George to Knaggs, 12 March 1906, in St. Georges Poor Law Guardian Minute Book, in BPL. For a discussion of the relationship between infant mortality and illegitimacy in Jamaica and Trinidad, see Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 184-85; Brereton, *Race Relations*, 120-21.

20. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 79; St. George Poor Law Guardians Minutes, 6 May 1912 and W. N. Phillips to Board of Guardians, 20 Aug. 1912.

21. Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 185.

22. Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 93-98.

23. See, Olwyn Mary Blouet, 'Education and Emancipation in Barbados, 1833-1846: A Study in Cultural Transference,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4: 2 (April 1981), 222-235 and her PhD Thesis 'Education and Emancipation in Barbados, 1823-1846,' University of Nebraska-Lincoln; Cameron R. McCarthy, 'The Imperialist Motive in the Introduction of Popular Education in Barbados, 1833-1876,' MEd Thesis, University of Alberta, Spring 1983; Rudolph Goodridge, 'The Development of Education in Barbados 1818-1860, (MEd Thesis, University of Leeds, 1965-66); for the broader West Indian context, see Carl Campbell, 'Towards an Imperial Policy for the Education of Negroes in the West Indies after Emancipation,' *Jamaica Historical Review*, 13 (1967), 68-102.

24. ' Report of the Education Commission,' Pt. 2. MCA 1874-75, app. X, p. 4.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., 4-5

28. Noel Fitzallan Titus, 'The Development of Methodism in Barbados, 1823-1883,' PhD thesis, (UWI, Cave Hill Barbados, 1990), 234.

29. Education Act, 1890--40, sec. 21.

30. MCA 1882-3 doc. 208, R. P. Elliot, 'Report on Primary and Combined Schools, in Connection with the Education Board, for 1882,' p. 13.

31. MCA 1896, doc. 176, 'Education Report, 1894-96,' p. 12-13.

32. BDED 20 Oct. 1902, 36.

33. Leader: 'Signs of the Times,' *Times*, Sat., 14 April 1894.

34. 1890--40, Education Act, secs. 22 and 23.

35. *Times*, Wed., 17 Aug. 1892.

36. Ibid., *Times* Wed., 18 Jan. 1893.

37. MCA 1896, doc. 176, 'Education Report, 1894-6,' para. 5, p. 2.

38. Ibid., p. 11.

39. *Herald*, Thurs., 21 Sept. 1893.

40. Ibid.

41. BDED, Mon., 23 Jan. 1905, 162.

42. M. T. G. Mahon, 'Instructions to Elementary School Teachers, 1914.' p. 2, inserted in BDED.

43. Ibid.

44. Trevor A. Turner, 'The Socialisation Intent in Colonial Jamaican Education 1867-1911,' *Caribbean Journal of Education* 14: 1 & 2 (Jan./ April, 1987), 76-8; Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 127; Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad*, 220.

45. *Agricultural Reporter*, Thurs., 14 Feb. 1901, 2.

46. Ibid., 2-3.

47. *Agricultural Reporter*, Jan. 1892, cited in Gordon, *Century of West Indian Education*, 135-36.

48. Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*, 80.

49. MCA 1904-05, doc. 183, Reece and Carrington, 'Report on the Elementary Schools, 1904,' p. 2.

50. MCA 1906-07, doc 162, Reece and Carrington, 'Report on the Elementary School for the Year 1906,' p. 2.

51. MCA 1884-85, doc. 163, R. P. Elliot, 'Report on Primary and Combined Schools for the Year, 1884,' p.10; MCA 1891, doc. 53, J. E. Reece and J. A. Carrington, 'Report on the Elementary Schools for the Year 1890, p. 2.

52. MCA 1908-09, doc. 252, Education Commission Report 1907-09, p. 10.

53. Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*, 76.

54. See, Gordon, *Century of West Indian Education,* Ch. 6.

55. Phillips, 'Politics in Barbados,' 421; 'Public Meeting at the Albert Hall,' *Times*, Wed., 25 March 1885, Sat., 28 March 1885.

56. MCA 1893-94, doc. 126, 'Elementary School Report, 1893,' p. 1-2.

57. 1897--18, Education (Amendment) Act, sec. 9; MCA 1898-99, doc. 99, 'Report on the Education Board, 1897' p. 36.

58. The elementary school age population ranged from four to sixteen but it was more common to encourage school commencement at age five. The demands of work meant that many completed school before sixteen. From the beginning of 1911 elementary schooling was restricted to ages five to fourteen. For consistency in comparison the age range five to fourteen is taken as the elementary school age.

59. Statistics are drawn from the respective censuses and *Blue Books.*

60. MCA 1909-09, doc. 252, 'Education Commission Report, 1907-1909,' p. 9; Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*, 68.

61. MCA 1909-09, doc. 252, 'Education Commission Report, 1907-1909,' p. 9.

62. OG, 17 Feb. 1890, 'Petition of Elementary School Teachers,' para. 7, p. 199; MCA 1909-09, doc. 252, 'Education Commission Report, 1907-1909,' p. 9.

63. Levy, *Emancipation Sugar Federalism,* 10, 132.

64. McLellan, *Some Phases of Barbados Life*, 60.

65. PP 1898 (c. 8657) L, WIRC, app C. pt. 3, p. 219.

66. Cruickshank, *Negro Humour*, 33.

67. See experience of Frank Mayhew, 'My Life' *Caribbean Quarterly* 3: 1([1953]), 14.

68. MCA 1905-06, doc. 143, Reece and Carrington, 'Elementary School Report, 1905,' p. 4.

69. MCA 1902-03, doc. 20, Reece and Carrington, 'Report on Elementary Schools, 1901,' p. 6; MCA 1903-04, doc. 185, *idem*, 'Report on Elementary Schools, 1903', p. 4.

70. MCA 1912-13, doc. 60, Carrington and Nicholls, 'Report on the Elementary Schools for the Year 1911,' p.[1].

71. Ibid.

72. According to the Census of 1911, there were a total of 3,939 persons, four years' old.

73. See Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood,' *History Workshop* 5 (Spring 1978), 9-65.

74. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados*, 188.

75. Brodber, 'The Second Generation of Freemen in Jamaica, 1907-1944', 57-69.

76. Ibid., see also her 'Afro-Jamaican Women at the Turn of the Century,' *Social and Economic Studies* 35: 3 (1986), 25-8.

77. Arlene Torres. 'Meetings: Social and Economic Cooperative Networks in Barbados.' Unpublished Paper, Colgate University, Fieldwork Group, Hamilton, NY.,1981, 50.

78. Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, 10.

79. Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 126-27, 229.

80. Ibid, 230.

81. Rodney, *Guyanese Working People*, 103.

82. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, p. 208.

83. Ibid., para. 915.

84. Ibid. para 917.

85. Ibid., para. 911.

86. 'The Growth of Lawlessness and its Cause,' *Agricultural Reporter*, Frid., 1 March 1901.

87. J. R. Gillis, 'The Evolution of Juvenile Delinquency in England, 1890-1914,' *Past and Present* 67 (May 1975), 97.

88. S. Allen, 'Some Theoretical Problems in the Study of Youth,' *Sociological Review* 16: 3 (Nov. 1968), 321.

89. Turner, 'Socialisation Intent,' 76-7.

90. PP 1884-85 (c.4583) LII, 'Blue Book Report for 1884,' pp. 81-2.

91. Satistics from annual criminal statistic in the Barbados *Blue Books*.

92. Police Magistrate's & Assistant Court of Appeal (Amendment) Act, 1896-18.

93. CO 28/240, Hay to Chamberlain, 20 Aug. 1896, encl. no 2.

94. Ibid.

95. PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC app C, pt. 3, p. 195, para. 949.

96. Minute on CO 28/240, Hay to Chamberlain, 20 Aug. 1896, encl. no 2.

97. CO 28/245, Hay to Chamberlain, 19 April 1898 no 67 encl no 1, Copy of a Report by Inspector of Police to Colonial Secretary, 23.3.98.

98. 1899--34, 'The Regulation of Whipping Act.'

99. CO 28/ 261 no 214, 2 Sept 1903 Knaggs to Chamberlain.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. MCA 1902-03, doc. 183, J. Laurance Greaves, Report of Chaplain to the Prisons, 1902, para. 10, p. 1.

103. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

104. MCA 1902-03, doc 213, Hodgson to Swaby, no 9 misc. 7 Feb. 1903, In Correspondence from the Governor to the House of Assembly.

105. For a history of the Boys Brigade, see John Springhall, Brian Fraser and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883 to 1983*, (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1983) For a brief overview on the occasion of its centenary see, Victor Bailey, 'Bibles & Dummy Rifles: The Boys' Brigade,' *History Today* 33 (Oct. 1983), 5-9.

106. Springhall et.al, *Sure and Steadfast*, 91.

107. Bethel Circuit Minutes, Quarterly Meeting, 14 April 1893, in BPL.

108. Springhall, et.al' *Sure and Steadfeast*, 91.

109. App. 7. 'Report on the Wesley Guilds', Eastern Annual Conference Minutes for 1897.

110. App. 16 'Local Constitution [of] the Wesley Guild...Branch', Eastern Annual Conference Minutes for 1900.

111. MCA 1908-09, doc. 141, Reece and Carrington, 'Report on the Elementary Schools for 1908,' [p. 651]. Perhaps this was due to the fact that an ex-Wesleyan-Methodist minister once served at Boscobel Anglican Church; see Titus, 'The Development of Methodism,' 339.

112. Springhall et al, *Sure and Steadfast*, 68-9; J. O. Springhall, 'Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism,' *International Review of Social History*, 16 (1971), 142-43.

113. *Weekly Recorder* Sat., 3 Jan. 1903, 9.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. 'Church Lads Brigade,' *Agricultural Reporter*, Wed., 2 Jan. 1901, 3.

117. 'The Bishop's Address at the Diocesan Synod,' *Agricultural Reporter*, Frid., 28 Nov. 1902, 3.

118. BCP 5 Oct 1892, 26.

119. BCP 5 Oct. 1892, 26.

120. Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood.'

121. For its role in the British context, see, Brian Harrison, 'For Church, Queen and Family: The Girls' Friendly Society 1874-1920,' *Past and Present* 61 (Nov. 1973), 107-138.

122. Ibid., 116.

123. BCP, Annual Synod Wed., 11 March 1908, 298; Meeting Wed 8 June 1910.

124. BCP 8 June 1910 and Bishop's Address 20 March 1912.

125. Harrison, 'For Church, Queen and Family,' 117-8.

126. BCP Wed., 8 June 1910.

127. J. E. Reece and C. G. Clark-Hunt (eds.), *Barbados Diocesan History* (London: West India Committee, 1928), 52.

128. Examples: Bishop's Address, 20 March 1912; expulsions from the Wesleyan-Methodists, 'Ebenezer and Providence Circuit report for 1908'; a number of young people from the Moravian Church temporary excluded for violating the seventh commandment, 'Annual Report of Mount Tabor and Clifton Hill Moravian for 1914.

129. BCP Wed. 18 Aug. 1880, 219; 15 Sept. 1880, 225 & 227.

130. BCP 21 Oct. 1891, 6.

131. 'The Constitution of the Wesley Guild,' Minutes of the Eastern Annual Wesleyan-Methodist Conference, 1901. App. 16, 100.

132. BCP 'Report for 1903'.

133. BCP Bishop's Address: 20 March 1912.

134. BCP Bishop's Address Tues., 25 March 1913.

135. Statistics taken from Annual Reports delivered at Synod.

136. BCP Annual Session of the Diocesan Synod, Wed., 11 March [1908].

137. MCA 1874-5, Education Commission Report, 1875-77, Pt. 2, Appendix X.

138. This was so in spite of Bishop Mitchinson's disclaimer that, '[t]he term second-grade education must not be confounded with middle-class education.' Ibid., 5.

139. Ibid. 8.

140. For a good overview of the history of this school, see Ralph A. Jemmott, 'A Brief History of Harrison College, 1733-1983,' in *Harrisonian, 250th Anniversary Commemorative Issue* (Barbados: 1983), 10-20.

141. Ibid., 10, 12; 'Education Committee's Scheme for Restoring Harrison's School, 16 July 1869, reproduced in Shirley Gordon, *Century of West Indian Education*, 96-7.

142. Quoted in Jemmott, 'Brief History', 12.

143. J. A. Venn (comp.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses* II (2) (Cambridge: CUP, 1944).

144. CO 321/44, 26 Nov 1881 Deighton to Colonel Harley encl confidential in Harley to Earl of Kimberley 28 Nov. 1881.

145. Hoyos, 'Horace Deighton,' *Common Heritage*, 66.

146. Letter to the editor from 'Buz', *Herald*, Mon., 30 Nov. 1885.

147. 'Harrison College' *Herald*, Mon., 2 May 1881.

148. For a biography of Christopher Codrington, see Vincent Harlow, *Christopher Codrington, 1668-1710* (Oxford 1928); for the philantrophy on the Codrington Estates, see Frank J. Klinberg (ed.), *Codrington Chronicle: An Experimant in Anglican Altruism an a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949) and J. Harry Bennett, *Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958).

149. Jean Bullen and Helen E. Livingston, 'Of the State and Advancement of the College,' In Klinberg, *Codrington Chronicle*, 107-22.

150. B. B. Ward, 'The First Barbados Scholarships,' *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 35: 1 (March 1975), 47-50.

151. MCA 1898-99, doc. 99, 'Report of the Education Board, 1897' p. 38. *Lodge School Record* (hereafter LSR) 2 (1912), 3; Hoyos, *Two Hundred Years: A History of the Lodge School*, 48.

152. *Lodge School Record*, 33 (Dec. 1943) 7; Hoyos, 'Bill Emtage,' *Our Common Heritage* (Bridgetown: Advocate Press, 1953), 125-29; Joseph Foster, comp, *Alumni Oxoníenses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886* (Oxford: James Parker, 1891), 426.

153. Hoyos, 'Herbert Dalton,' *Our Common Heritage*, 97; Ibid., 'Bill Emtage, 128.

154. Mangan, *Athleticism*, 146.

155. LSR 1 [1911], 34.

156. Ibid; Hoyos, *Two Hundred Years*, 86-7.

157. Quoted in Mangan, *Athleticism*, 148.

158. OG, 3 Jan. 1910, O. Emtage, 'Headmaster's Report, 1908-1909' p. 8. See also 'The House System,' LSR 2 (1912), 18.

159. OG, 5 June 1911, Herbert A. Dalton, 'Headmaster's Report,' 1910, p. 1110.

160. Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'Combermere and the Barbadian Society,' *Banja* (April 1987), 12.

161. J.W.B.C., 'A Great Headmaster,' *Combermerian*, (1934-35), 8-10.

162. CSM 1:1 (June 1913), 15.

163. CO 28/261 no 241, Hodgson to Secretary of State, 22 Oct. 1903; J. C. Hope, *Combermere School Magazine*, 3: 3 (1915-16), 5.

164. F. Hoyos, *History of the Lodge School*,, 8.

165. MCA 1874-75, app. X, p. 11.

166. Ibid.

167. *Queen's College Historical Diary, 1883-1983* ([Bridgetown:] Queen's College, 1982,) 12.

168. *Herald*, 25 Jan 1883.

169. See annual *Blue Book*s under 'Education.'

170. MCA 1908-09, doc. 252, 'Education Report 1907-09', p. 25.

171. 1897--18, Education (Amendment Act.)

172. QC 11 Feb 1889.

173. Education Report 1894-96, p. 9; QC 4 Jan. 1897.

174. MCA 1908-09, doc. 252, p. 25.

175. Annie Hilda Chandler (20) joined her older brother W.K. Chandler[Jr.] as a student at Cambridge. Muriel Greaves was also a contemporary at Cambridge. *Weekly Recorder* Sat., 8 July 1905, 5; Sat., 30 June 1906, 7.

176. See Kathleen Drayton, 'Higher Education for Women,' pp. 9-11 for a discussion of the Barbados Scholarship and women's education.

177. MCA 1893-94, doc. 56, 'The Alexandra School: Scheme for the Establishment and Management of a Girls' School in the Parish of Saint Peter.'

178. MCA 1897-98, doc. 171, pp 2-4.

179. Reginald Barrow, testimony in *First Person Plural*, 133-36.

180. Statistics from Barbados *Blue Book*s.

181. Actually four times between 1899-1914.

182. Fraser, *Jubilee Directory*, 220.

183. Ibid., 221. These figures are based on the sex of the teacher in charge. Invariably men operated boys schools, and women, girls schools or mixed infants. There is some possibility that a few infant schools may have been among the sixteen identified as girls' schools.

184. MCA 1908-09, doc. 252, Education Report 1907-09, p. 19.

185. Ibid., p. 23. See references to petitions from St. Philip In BDED Mon., 30 Nov. 1903, 95; 22 Feb. 1904, 109.

186. The Codrington High School in St. John opened in January 1917 to meet the needs of the Windward Parishes, Fraser, et. al., *Barbados Heritage*, 43.

187. Alice James, Letter to the Board of Governors of Queen's College, QC 29 Jan. 1900.

188. Ibid.

189. *Times* 27 Jan. 1894.

190. Cole, 'Education of Women,' 8.

191. Burslem, 'A West Indian Childhood,' ff., 133, 137. Mis Haversaat's private school is listed in Anciaux and Bowen, *Directory*, 83; Fraser, *Jubilee Directory*, 221.

192. Fraser, *Jubilee Directory*, 221.

193. MCA 1908-09, doc. 252, 'Education Commission Report 1907-09,' p. 19.

194. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

195. 'Cheap Literature,' *Taxpayer,* Sat., 26 June 1886, 3.

196. Advertisement,'The Penny Poets' Alfred Barrow, *Agricultural Reporter*, Friday 21 Feb. 1896.

197. *Herald*, Thurs., 3 Jan. 1884.

198. *Herald*, Thurs., 12 May 1881.

199. BCP 'Report for 1903.'

200. MCA 1908-09, doc. 252, 'Report of the Education Commision, 1907-1909,' p.6.

201. L. A. Chase, 'Instructions to Elementary School Teachers for 1912,' inserted in BDED.

202. Patrick A. Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime,' *Victorian Studies*, 22: 2 (Winter 1979), 133-150.

203. Editorial, 'Cheap Literature,' *Taxpayer* Sat., 12 June 1886, 3.

204. John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: TheManipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: MUP, 1984), 201.

205. Patrick Dunae, ' Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire,' *Victorian Studies* 24: 1 (Autumn 1980), 105-21.

206. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 201-02.

207. *Herald* 16 Nov. 1882.

208. *Taxpayer*, 22 May 1886.

209. Moxly, *West Indian Sanitorium*, 174; Stark, *History and Guide*, 174; Letter to editor from 'A Citizen', 'A Reading Room,' *Taxpayer* Sat., 12 June 1886, 3.

210. *Taxpayer*, 22 May 1886.

211. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 35.

212. Ibid.

213. Frank Collymore, 'Non Immemor (Part One),' *Bim* 15: 57 (March 1974), 5, 9.

214. Frank Collymore, 'Non Immemor (Part Two)', *Bim*, 15: 58 (June 1975), 85-6.

215. Ibid; idem., 'At the Turn of the Century, 1898-1902,' *Bim* 13: 49 (July-Dec. 1969), 34.

216. R. Louis Payne in *Weekly Recorder* Sat., 11 June 1904.

217. Collymore, 'Non Immemor (Two)', 86.

218. Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls,' 150.

219. Springhall, 'Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism;' Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War,' *History Workshop* 2 (Autumn 1976), 104-23.

220. Paul Wilkinson, 'English Youth Movements, 1908-30' *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4: 2 (1969), 22.

221. CO 854/26, Derby to Officer Administering the Government 19 June 1885 confidential circular; W. H. Goodenough and J. C. Dalton, *The Army Book for the British Empire* (London: HMSO, 1893), 490-91.

222. MCA 1891-92, doc. 107; Governor's Speech, DLC, 3 Dec. 1895; MCA 1900-01, doc. 30, Petition; DHA 22 Oct. 1901, pp. 138-146; DLC 29 Oct. 1901, pp. 45-7; 1901--21 Volunteer Act.

223. W. H. Greaves, DHA, 22 Oct. 1901, pp. 143.

224. *West India Committee Circular,* 20: 16, Thurs., 14 Sept. 1905, 364.

225. W. H. Greaves, DHA, 22 Oct. 1901, p. 139.

226. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 4 Jan. 1902, 4.

227. *Church Lad's Brigade*, 4; Wilkinson, 'English Youth Movements,' 7; Springhall, 'Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism,' 144-47.

228. HC 11 Jan. 1904, 33; SCH 1/1/2, Minutes of Lodge School, Governing Body, 26 Feb. 1904, in BDA.

229. HC 2 May 1904, 43.

230. LSR 2 (1912), 4; LSR 33 (1943), 7; Hoyos, *Two Hundred Years*, 89.

231. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 9 May 1901.

232. Combermere School Board of Governors' Minutes, 5 May 1902, 1; 18 Dec. 1905, 43.

233. HC, 4 Sept. 1905, 80.

234. LSR 2 (1912), 4.

235. 1907--42, 'An Act to Amend the Volunteer Act 1901 (1901--21)', sec. 2.

236. Prices cited in MCA 1909-10, doc. 88, F. J. Clarke's Inspection Report, 'Appendix A.'

237. Ibid. See also the recommendation of the Swaby Commission for financial aid for the Corps especially at Combermere, MCA 1908-09, doc. 252, Education Commission Report 1907-09,' p. 23. The general problem of clothing drew attention again in 1915-16, see MCA 1915-16, doc. 251. 'Barbados Volunteers Annual Report 1915-16' p. 11.

238. Springhall, 'Boy Scouts Class and Militarism'; Jeffrey P. Hantover, 'The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity,' *Journal of Social Issues* 34: 1 (1978), 1894-95; Allen Warren, 'Citizens of the Empire, Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40,' in John M. Mackenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: MUP, 1986), 232-56; Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

239. Anne Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in reply to Allen Warren,' *English Historical Review* CII (405) (Oct. 1987), 943-50; Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920' *English Historical Review* 101:399 (April 1986), 376-98.

240. Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement,' 388.

241. Springhall, 'Scout Movement before 1920'; Summers, 'Reply to Allen Warren'; Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers.'

242. SAA/ TC/ 'Barbados', FitzPatrick to Baden-Powell, 1 Dec. 1910.

243. Ibid. 'B.P.' agrees to the experiment, SAA/ TC 'Barbados' B. P. to Fitz Patrick, 6 Dec. 1910.

244. SAA/ TC 'Barbados' Fitz Patrick to B. P., 22 March 1911; Minutes of the Barbados Scout Association, Frid., 21 April, 1911, Frid., 28 April, 1911; Sat., 1 July 1911, Sat., 9 March 1912. Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1917.

245. BBSA, *Minutes*, Frid., 28 April, 1911, 9.

246. *Combermere School Magazine,* 1 (June 1913), 7; BBSA *Minutes*, Sat., 9 March, 1912.

247. SAA/ BSA 00097, R. B-P., 'Reports etc. on Boy Scouts,' 2.

248. SAA/ BSA 00936, R. B-P., 'Boy Scouts in Oversea Dominions- Report of Inspection by the Chief Scout,' 23 Sept. 1912, Confidential.

249. SAA/ TC/9, R. B-P., 'Visits Overseas, 1912- Report on Boy Scouts, Overseas.', 2.

250. SAA/ BSA 01036, R. B-P. to MacIlwain.

251. From Combermere Troop *Log Book* entries.

252. CSM, 2: 1 (1914-15), 7.

253. Baden-Powell to Burton, 20 Nov. 1914, CSM 2: 2 (1914-15), 14-5.

254. CSM 1: 3 (1913-14), 11.

255. Cyril A. D. Chase, 'Why I became a Scout,' CSM 1: 2 (Oct. 1913), 4.

256. SAA/ BSA 00930, 'Memorandum of War Services Performed by Boy Scouts;' In Barbados young cadets and scouts provided daily watch patrols, CSM, 2: 2 (1914-15), 2.

257. E. D. Redman writing from Romford, CSM 5: 3 (1917-18), 3.

258. J . C. Hope, CSM, 3: 3 (1915-16), 5.

259. Letter from H. H. Williams, CSM, 4: 3 (1916-17); Letter from C. Ivor Proverbs, CSM 5: 2 (1917-18), 5-6.

260. A. G. C. Kaye, 'Old Boys and the War,' *Harrisonian*, 2: 3 (July 1918), 71.

261. *Harrisonian*, 8 (1918), 49-52.

262. For example, H. A. Vaughan, 'Sons of the Sea,' CSM 2:1 (1914-15), 2, idem, 'Press On!' CSM 2: 3 (1914-15), 7; H. A. M. Beckles, 'God Bless the Motherland,' CSM 2: 1 (1914-15), 12; E. G. Fenty, 'A Call to Duty,' CSM 5: 2 (1917-18), 1.

263. Leighton V. Stoute, 'Your Empire's Call,' CSM 6: 1 (1918-19), 7.

264. C. L. Joseph, 'The British West Indies Regiment 1914-1918, *Journal of Caribbean History*, 2 (May 1971), 94-124.

CHAPTER 6

LEISURE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

Analyses of leisure have mushroomed within sociology, 'new' social and cultural history, and lately cultural studies, but an adequate conceptual definition has remained as elusive as ever. Since much of this scholarship originated in the North Atlantic, it has tended to offer explanatory models, applied to making sense of the changes in those societies following industrialization.[1] This type of treatment fits generally within the 'modernization' thesis which posits that in the wake of industrialization, new technology, urbanization, and altered labour relations, 'traditional' community pleasures were either eliminated or otherwise subjected to 'rationalization' more in keeping with the Protestant work ethic. Turner, following the influential work of Dumazadier,[2] distinguishes 'leisure' in 'modern industrialized societies from the free time of the socio-religious rhythms of preindustrial 'tribal' communities.[3] 'Modernization' offers a useful understanding of how technology, urbanization and changing work discipline impacted on leisure in specific cases, but its eurocentricity limits it as an inclusive theory of leisure.[4]

There are certainly many variants of modernization, as well as its major alternative, cultural neo-marxism.[5] The latter has been dominated by the Gramscian discourse which posits that leisure forms, like other cultural pursuits, were coopted by ruling groups as vehicles for securing the commitment of the masses to existing social inequality.[6] What is posited in this approach, is not crude 'social control' from above, but rather it postulates that autonomous forms of working-class leisure were incorporated into a bourgeois framework to constitute an ideological bulwark to social change. This approach has already been applied by Keith Sandiford and Brian Stoddart in their analyses of Barbados and West Indian Cricket,[7] and will be tested by examining a wider leisure context in this chapter.

However the question of what leisure is remains unanswered; whether it is play that is an end in itself devoid of an instrumental and ideological agenda, or concessions to labour in order to secure the *quid pro quo* of a renewed reinvigorated obligation to existing capital-labour relations? Dichotomies of work and non-work, freedom and obligation, have been difficult to cast off when defining leisure, although such concepts are severely

restricted and are often useless in accounting for modern contemporary leisure pursuits. As Hargreaves argues:

> It is surely not so much a question of the presence or absence of freedom and constraint that defines and characterizes leisure, but the specific nature of the freedoms and constraints that are manifested therein, when compared with other sectors of social life. When we refer to 'leisure' it is, therefore, in a descriptive rather than an analytical sense.[8]

Although 'free-time' or 'non-work' is not of itself leisure, or a necessary determinant of leisure, it was nonetheless in such a discourse that struggle over leisure in Victorian and Edwardian Barbados was articulated.

The decade of the 1880s witnessed the emergence of leisure as an important element of national debate in Barbados. The pursuit of leisure was not a new phenomenon of the late nineteenth century. However, commencing with the decade of the 1880s, the concept of leisure, the attitude towards it and how it was used, assumed proportions not in evidence before. Leisure became less restricted to social intercourse among elite gentlemen, but to embrace all ethnic groups, classes and sexes. This extension of leisure cannot be attributed entirely to attempts by ruling elite to impose 'social control' on subordinate classes. The fact that some forms of popular recreation were promoted, or came to be seen as possible vehicles of promoting socially acceptable values in subalterns, can hardly be questioned. Nevertheless, the initiative in the quest for extending opportunities for leisure, came from the upper working and lower middle classes rather than from the upper crust of Barbadian society. A number of social, cultural and ideological factors, combined to act as catalysts for this drive. Among these were demographic changes, applications of new technology in transport, perceptions of progress and upward mobility, and gradual reduction in working hours.

The Struggle for Recreational Space

In 1883, a section of the local press questioned the claim of the Island to civilization because it was 'singularly devoid' of any publicly-maintained place to relax.[9] There was the Fountain Gardens, a few square yards of Trafalgar Square, where a fountain had been erected in 1865 four years after piped water reached Bridgetown.[10] But it was not until 1882 that some semblance of a garden was laid out, but it was considered

insignificant as a venue for entertainment. Bridgetown still needed 'a place of resort easy of access and affording a means of retreat for a few hours from the confinement and dust of the City.'[11] James H. Lynch, a prominent coloured merchant, announced a plan in January 1886 to open his grounds at *Friendly Hall* situated just outside the city for one evening each month to host a promenade. The admission fee of one shilling allowed patrons to enter and be treated to music provided by the North Staffordshire Regimental Band.[12]

In 1887 a subcommittee of the Committee that was established to plan the celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee petitioned the House of Assembly to consider laying out part of the land at Government House as a public garden.[13] Property in the city centre was said to be unavailable or unaffordable, but a few months before, the *Bee* suggested that this was a cynical move to locate the garden outside the city where only the 'upper-ten' with carriages could use it.[14] 'The Upper-ten have their own gardens', it said, 'let the People have theirs and not a mock combination for the benefit of the few to the detriment of the majority.'[15]

The extension of the franchise in 1884 meant that for the first time lower-level white collar workers, like the merchant clerks, could vote in significant numbers. Increasingly, the demands for leisure space and time came to reflect the interest of the merchant clerks. The leader writer of the *Barbados Herald* reiterated: 'With a teeming population overflowing her boundaries, she [Bridgetown] has no public parks or gardens to which either the adult or youthful population may go to snatch an hour's enjoyment in the open air.' It was further argued that clerks 'pent up in a close and dusty atmosphere day after day with little to relieve the tedium of their monotonous occupation, will find the proposed gardens an inestimable boon.'[16] The campaign met with some success and some land opposite the St. Mary's Anglican Church was acquired as a garden in honour of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. From July 1892 the Police Band performed there for the public on Friday evenings. The *Times* warned that no 'vexatious regulations' should be implemented to exclude the masses from a public place.[17]

This was a particularly pertinent concern because, while the urban lower middle and working classes were campaigning for the right to accessible recreational space in the city, the 'upper-ten' had formed themselves into a committee and won exclusive supervision over Hastings Rocks on the south coast of the Island. The Committee erected fences and gates which the *Wesleyan Watchman* asked to be speedily dismantled.[18] A schedule of

admission fees were implemented at the Rocks, justified on the claim that a caretaker and the transportation of the military band had to be paid.[19] Such justifications did not alter the perceptions by the nonelite that this was an attempt to exclude all but 'a favoured few;'[20] 'to debar the hardworking people who form the bulk of the population from enjoying this delightful and refreshing spot by putting up posts and gates, and barbed wire fence, and thus reserving the use of this place for a few idle, highly paid, pampered 'I am better than thou' Pharisees? - too often whited sepulchres.'[21] Harry Franck, a visitor to the island observed:

> Thus in negro-teeming Barbados there is scarcely a suggestion of African parentage to be seen at this stately entertainment on Hastings Rocks. It is partly the sixpence admission that keeps the negroes outside, but not entirely...The English sense of dignified orderliness and the negro's natural gaiety, his tendency to "giggle" at inopportune moments, do not mix well, and the Hasting Rocks concert is one of those places where African hilarity must be ruthlessly suppressed.[22]

Indeed, 'Vaquero' observed that along the coast btween the Garrison where the British military was based and Hastings was "the white man's area."[23]

The spatial separation of leisure spheres could not be sustained in every situation, but when it did occur the aim was to reinforce the idea that the white upper classes were the repositories of 'culture', and to achieve what Bryan calls 'aesthetic distance.'[24] The aesthetic distance between Hastings Rocks and the Jubilee Gardens was emphasised by the employment of the white British regimental band at the former, and the relegation of the mixed-race, ill-equipped and maligned Police Band to the latter. It was only when the removal of the British regiment from Barbados became imminent that the local Police Band got their opportunity to play at the hallowed Hastings Rocks in March 1902.[25] Originally relegated to playing to children and nurses at the Jubilee Gardens, the Police Band was belatedly offered a chance for 'improvement' by playing to an 'intelligent and critical audience.'[26] Its 'heathenish instruments'[27] which had long been in use were expeditiously replaced when a vote of £130 was passed by the House of Assembly in 1904 for that purpose.[28] The following table illustrates the steady growth in the use of the local Police Band after the withdrawal of the British regiments in 1905-06.[29]

Table 6.1. Annual Receipts for Police Band Performances, 1899-1911.

Year	£.	s.	d.	Year	£.	s.	d.
1899	20.	15.	7½	1905	119.	0.	0.
1900	11.	6.	8.	1906	135.	0.	2.
1901	6.	13.	4.	1907	149.	0.	4.
1902	29.	11.	8.	1908	167.	10.	0.
1903	42.	13.	4.	1910	129.	3.	4.
1904	109.	9.	8.	1911	174.	9.	2.

Source: MCA. A. B. R. Kaye, Reports of the Police Force, 1899-1911.

The middle and upper classes' concept of recreational space did not answer the needs of many working people. The former's preoccupation with verdant arboreal patches for band concerts and promenades, or for what Roy Rosenzweig calls 'repose and contemplation',[30] was at odds with the working class need for playing fields. By this time the middle and upper classes had secured playing fields for cricket and other games but the working classes had no playing field, in town or country, to call their own. The planter-class had so monopolized land resources, that parks and playing fields would almost inevitably necessitate the benevolent paternalism of that class.

It is nothing short of amazing that a planter-class should control eighty-five percent of Barbados, with the Government and other freeholders jostling for the remaining fifteen percent. The last vestige of original forest, as well as other geographical and geological sites which were uncultivable but nevertheless sources of tourist and leisurely interest, were in the main privately-owned.[31] Government could find a mere two sites from which to offer the Barbados Theatre Company Limited a home in 1894.[32] The Government's limitation in providing recreational spaces was again evident during the debate considering the site for an extended Free Library.[33]

Table 6.2. Land Use in Barbados, 1896-97.

Barbados Total Land Space			106, 470 acres
Absentee planters	(150 pltns.)	48,550}	
Local planters	(290 pltns.)	42,340}	90,890
In sugar cane		60,000]	
Ground provisions & pasturage		9,500]	74,000 cultivated
Plantation tenantries (rented to located labourers)		4,500]	
Virgin forests (part of Turner's Hall Pltn.)		66	
Swamp, gullies, caves etc.		6,470	
Other		10,354	
Free Villages, Government & War Office property		15,580	

Source: Calculated from memoranda and evidence given before the WIRC, 1897.

However, the shortage of Crown or State property was not the sole factor which constrained access to recreational space. This point is well illustrated by the refusal of the House of Assembly to honour the Will of George William Carrington, which provided that five years after his death his 'Norham House' and three lots of almost eight acres of land, be bequeathed to Government 'to be used and kept forever as open spaces and recreation grounds for the special benefit and use of the classes of persons in the Island now comprising the tenants of the said Welches Estate namely persons of the labouring and domestic servant classes.'[34] The Welches Estate (now Carrington Village) had been subdivided into a tenantry in the 1880s and became one of the largest working-class peri-urban settlements. The upper working and middle classes who were lobbying for Government-sponsored urban renewal, including recreational spaces, had envisaged that the Norham bequest could possibly be a centre for sport, and a reading and lecture room for the improvement of the working people. This was not to be realized because the Bill was rejected in the House of Assembly on the pretense that the bequest was aimed to benefit one class in one parish. The liberal interpretation of the Will by the Attorney General, a petition of 3,400 persons which included some prominent citizens, and two subsequent attempts to revive the Bill were to no avail.[35] *The Barbados Globe*, expressed the opinion that members of the Legislature seemed more willing to spend money on prisons and policemen than on such a project.[36] It did not even seem to concern the Legislature that the Welches Tenantry was but a stone's throw from the leafy suburb of Belleville, and the

absence of recreational space in the former might have contributed to the occasional invasion of youth into the latter. For instance in 1911 Belleville residents formed a committee to consider employing a watchman 'with a good fat stick' to keep out the 'hooligans' attracted to their area by the Spartan Cricket Ground and the St. Cyprian's Tennis Club.[37]

The elite had always perceived the assembling of working class people within public space as socially threatening, especially in urban areas. Spatially deprived, working people inevitably took their leisure activity to the street which was criminalized under existing legislation. Kite-flying and fireworks fell afoul of urban regulation laws.[38] For example. a resident of Literary Row in the city, complained that boys raced cows along the street endangering pedestrians.[39] One boy known as Bromley was blamed for the tetanus which a coachman developed after he was cut by a piece of broken glass attached to the boy's kite.[40] Even the Salvation Army found itself at the wrong end of local law when Captain Widgery was arrested for harbouring a mob in Beckwith Square.[41]

The idea that recreational concessions may be a civilizing force to secure a commitment from the working classes to the social order was a very much contested ideological terrain in late nineteenth-century Barbados. To argue, then, that there existed some mature leisure policy as part of a hegemonic agenda to keep the working classes in their place is simplistic. As Rosenzweig argues: 'Having accepted recreation as a means of self-development and self-control for themselves, the middle and upper classes began rather more slowly - to perceive its possibilities as a means of social control.'[42]

Those who were relentlessly pursuing justice in the provision of recreational opportunities constituted a cross-class alliance of the urban 'respectable' working and middle classes. An association led by Dr. T. Law Gaskin was founded in April 1896 aimed 'to promote the establishment of play grounds and other means of pure and wholesome recreation for the people.'[43] It included T. Roberts of the Reform Club, Rev. Clark Holman of the Church of England, Walter Marston, indefatigable agitator for working class interests[44], and Horace Deighton, headmaster and a pioneer of muscular Christianity at Harrison College. The association identified the Reef Ground which had been vested in the Executive just two years before[45] as a potential public recreation space. Having secured the permission of the Executive, the association expended about $1000.00 over a five-year period on levelling the previous city dump, transforming it into a playing field which attracted the city youth for various games and sports.[46]

Ironically, the withdrawal of the British military, which had been a focus of recreation elitism, made a number of War Office properties available as potential recreation sites for the public. Even so, control over such spaces was contested. The urban cross-class alliance for recreation space seized the opportunity to urge the St. Michael's Vestry to lease the Queen's House and its grounds, the former official residence of the Commander of the British troops in Bridgetown, from central government. At a public meeting held at Carnegie Hall Rev. Sealy of the A.M.E. Church moved a resolution, seconded by the shipwright Washington Harper, that the property be acquired by the vestry for the purpose of a park, especially for the poorer classes who, unlike Strathclyde and Belleville residents, were deprived of recreational facilities.[47] The resolution was passed, aided by the usual agitation of Harper and Marston - both accused of using 'threatening language.'[48] Queen's Park, as it was called, opened in 1909 and became the venue for the annual exhibition, band concerts, the Christmas promenade and a host of public activities.[49]

During the same period C. P. Clarke and Walter Reece stoutly opposed, and succeeded in defeating, a Bill that intended for the Governor-in-Executive to concede exclusive control over the former parade ground at the Garrison Savannah to one private club.[50] It was already bad enough that the Turf Club, Polo Club, Football Club and other elite clubs had already effectively colonized the Savannah for which the Government was paying the War Office £150 of the public purse to lease. As Reece pointed out, 'I happen to know that even now, when the Savannah is under the control of the Executive Committee, a certain club called the Polo Club arrogates to itself certain rights and privileges with respect to a certain part of the Savannah.'[51] In theory the idea of having an amalgamated club that would regulate the use of the Savannah seemed rational enough, but again Reece was extremely doubtful: 'I know this country sufficiently well to know that it will simply mean this: that particular club will have the entire use of the piece of land and only those persons whom they favour will have any use of it.'[52] A planter-merchant elite that had grown so accustomed to the maintaining of 'ample control' over the working class by monopolizing land, were slow to embrace a hegemonic ideology predicated on securing 'control' by conceding land space- for whatever reason. The access of the public to Queen's Park and to the Garrison Savannah, were not so much concessions but victories by an alliance of the working and some sections of the middle classes. However, space was not the only thing that had to be won.

The Struggle Over Time

The matter of work patterns was inextricably bound up with the availability of leisure. Bridgetown commercial workers led the campaign for a change in approach to work and leisure on the part of their employers and Government. A letter reaching the *Barbados Herald* in August 1880 summed up what might have been a consensus of feeling:

> The employers do not know, or knowing, do not seem to mind, that "All work and no play makes John a dull boy." It would, I believe, be difficult to name a place where so little attention is paid to diversion and recreation for the above class of employees [clerks and shop assistants] as in this island. It is one monotonous tune. Work! work! all through the year...[53]

For six days a week between 7.00 am and 5.00 pm, and in some cases from as early as 6.00 am to as late as 6.00 pm, city workers toiled as long as the agro-proletariat in the country. For some clerks and shop attendants early Sunday morning was neither theirs nor the Lord's; from 6.00 am until 9.00 am, drug stores and outlets selling ice, fresh fish, and meat opened to serve the public.[54] Following the passage of the Bank Holidays Act in England promoted there by Sir John Lubbock, Barbados followed suit in 1873 with its own Bank Holiday Act making the first day of January, Easter Monday, and the day after Christmas, explicit holidays for bank employees and public servants.[55] Besides the Sabbath, the only days to which other workers had some statutory right were the holy-days of Good Friday and Christmas.

In November 1880, six hundred commercial workers petitioned the merchants of the Commercial Committee and Mr. Inniss, a representative for the constituency of Bridgetown, to support the extension of the Bank Holiday Act to commercial workers. The draft bill introduced by Inniss was rejected in the Legislative Council on technical grounds,[56] but in 1884, a similar petition was reintroduced by Grannum, senior representative for the City and supported by forty-four merchants.[57] The Bill was passed in the House of Assembly [58] and the Legislative Council added the first Monday in August (already in the English Act)[59] to the statutory holidays. By 1890, Whit Monday and the Birthday of the Sovereign were also made holidays,[60] and the addition of the first Monday of October passed without opposition.[61] Transportation and communication services, hotels, clubs, restaurants and plantation operations were all exempted from these Acts but in the case

of the plantations the agricultural labourers had long enjoyed many of these holidays, including Race days, as part of customary rights they had gained.[62]

In addition to these temporal victories some clerks gained annual holidays from work throughout the 1880s and 1890s. The *Taxpayer* in 1887 castigated local firms for their reluctance to offer at least eight days vacation to their workers.[63] However, the London principals of the firm of George Whitfield and Company authorized a minimum of eight days off per year, and fifteen for workers employed for more than two years,[64] while Clarke and Company gave alternate Saturdays as holidays to its workers.[65] The demand for a Saturday half-holiday had been part of the campaign for leisure time since 1880.[66] During the governorship of Sir William Robinson (1882-5) Government Offices closed on Saturdays at 12.30 pm and civil servants had the evening to themselves.[67] The campaign by commercial workers to secure a similar privilege was generally unsuccessful, but following the unprecedented growth of sport and leisure culture by 1895, it became a heated issue once more.

A few establishments like lumber firms and dry goods stores showed some willingness to concede a Saturday half-holiday[68], but generally, grocery outlets and provision merchants were unwilling to forego what some saw as a lucrative Saturday trade.[69] The demands of recreation time came at a time when economic depression made the need to be commercially competitive more acute, and, unless constrained by statute, merchants were unwilling to concede more time to workers. Provision merchants, for instance, as well as being middle men, competed with the small retailers they supplied. As a directory of 1898-9 shows, twenty-two out of twenty-nine or 75.9 percent of provision merchants, combined wholesaling with the retailing of liquor and groceries.[70] Fifteen of these merchants operated on Roebuck Street, giving competition to the existing twenty-two smaller liquor shops.[71] Provision merchants-cum-retailers also dominated the day trade but refused to leave the evening trade to the regular shops, a point made by 109 shopkeepers to the House of Assembly in February 1883.[72]

The extension of opening hours to small shops to enable them to stay open during week days until 9.00 pm was but a small victory[73] which did little to correct the unequal and unfair trading practices of the provision merchants. As the *Herald* observed almost a decade later:

> The retail trade from one cent and upward being so thoroughly monopolized by their richer brethren who are styled merchants, the small liquor dealers

> actually sell nothing during the day... I am well aware that no law could be enacted to compel the importers of liquor and others who style themselves merchants to leave the selling of a cent in rum, tobacco, etc., to those who are really small retailers and have to purchase liquor by the gallon and by the dozen from them...[74]

So, while the clerks and the shop assistants of the large mercantile establishments were agitating for reduced working hours and a weekly half-holiday, small shopkeepers were petitioning for an extension of shop-opening hours. Commercial capitalistic concerns remained an obstacle to the Saturday half-holiday, but in 1911 the commercial establishment agreed to reduce the work day from ten to nine hours, shaving half an hour off the opening and closing hours. Consequently, business on weekdays would commence at 7.30 am and close at 4.30 pm.[75] Saturday trade would close at noon for commission merchants, at 1.30 pm for lumber merchants and 2.00 pm for dry goods traders. Provision retailers were not prepared to close before 5.00 pm and the Swan Street traders agreed to close at 6.00 pm.[76] It was rumoured that journeymen shipwrights were going to cut their hours of work unilaterally.[77] However, it was not until 1925 that statutory provision was made to give a weekly half-holiday to shop assistants on Thursday or Saturday.[78]

Transportation and Leisure

The emergence of new, faster and more extensively accessible means of transportation coincided with, and to some degree contributed to, the pursuit of leisure in the 1880s. Moreover, forms of leisure which depended on this new transportation technology were lauded as signs of rational progress. For instance in March 1881 a bicycle club was started in the Island under the presidency of the Governor and attracted members from the Legislature, the judiciary and from other prominent areas. The *Herald* was happy to laud 'this effort to provide rational and healthy recreation for the young men of the Colony.'[79] Governor Robinson informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the club was a sign of 'progress' and advised that the introduction of cycles for sergeants of police, and perhaps later, letter carriers would prove to be cost-effective.[80] By the late 1890s, bicycle races were integrated in the athletic meetings of the Barbados Amateur Athletic Association[81] and bicycle processions of young men in costumes became a regular feature on Queen Victoria's Birthday and on New Years Day.[82]

The country's first railway line was commissioned in July 1881 and by August 1883

the train service extended to the popular seaside resort of Bathsheba on the east coast. The railway made it possible for large numbers of working and lower middle class persons, who did not own or could not afford to hire buggies, to see the countryside. Frank Collymore, a lad from a lower middle-class family in St. Michael, recalled his first train trip through the countryside as a 'fascinating experience'.[83] The railway trip, as acknowledged by most who described it, only became fascinating after the sea of monotonous canefields were passed when the train eventually reached the Atlantic coast of St. Philip.[84] One could disembark and visit the scenic grounds of Codrington College, settle for a picnic at the seaside resort of Bath, spend a day at one of the hotels along the east coast, or climb the rugged hills of the Scotland District. This 'another Barbados'[85] had previously been accessible only to residents near those sites, to rich visitors, or to the local elite. By the mid 1880s one could travel third class from Bridgetown to Belleplaine, St. Andrew for 1s. 3d return.[86] For under 3s, excluding the cost of a packed picnic basket, a couple could visit any of the popular picnic sites from Bath to Belleplaine.

The railway service even contributed to the growth and popularization of other leisure venues not directly serviceable by train. For example the Crane Hotel established in 1887 on the popular south east coast of St. Philip, instituted a hotel omnibus service to bring clients from the Bushy Park railway station to its establishment.[87] In February 1891 the Barbados Railway Company announced that it was organizing moonlight excursions to Consett's Bay in St. Philip.[88] The new craze of 'marooning in the country' was also motivated by new concerns about the relationship between open or rural space and good health. A pamphlet promoting health tourism to the West Indies singled out Barbados as a sanatorium where, between November and May, the 'ozone-laden trade-winds' from the northeast blew across the island.[89] Open spaces like Bathsheba were good places to escape the 'miasma' and experience the invigorating air. During the early 1900s, the idealization of rural life in children's literature, the promotion of Nature Study in education, and country-tramping encouraged by youth movements, all fostered the idea of rural escape.

While the Barbados Railway Company made the countryside more accessible, the Barbados Tramway Company which started in 1882 facilitated travel between the city and the suburbs. By February 1885 the service extended to Hastings Rocks. The tram provided an invaluable service to those in St. Michael or Bridgetown preferring shorter outings to the Garrison or to Hastings beach, or for those for whom perhaps 'the novelty of Bank Holidays has worn off',' and it was suggested that 'people have ceased to make

martyrs of themselves by rushing off in the small hours of the morning to maroon and picnic in the country.'[90]

Leisure and the Cultural Construction of Gender

Leisure not only reflected and reproduced class and racial boundaries, but also gender ones. The bureaucratization and codification of almost every form of play and recreation in the late nineteenth witnessed the consolidation of white male hegemony. Men organized the clubs, wrote the rules and determined who should be included as members. At the turn of the century middle and upper-class women had admission to, or control of, those leisure pursuits which did not threaten their virtuous, domestic identity. These included the YWCA, reading circles, bridge and tennis clubs. Genderization extended to types of leisure as well as the spaces appropriate to their prosecution. Social Darwinism and competitive imperialism provided a growing discourse which focussed on the body and health. This discourse posited a sexual division of bodily labour, in which athleticism and 'strenuosity' were essential to the socialization of men destined to subdue and rule; women were to be allowed physical activity which enhanced their poise, balance and beauty, but not undermine their capacity to bear the children for the Empire. Emerging sports became 'naturalized', as the provenance of men, with women accommodated in the few sports that facilitated their socio-sexual roles.

Even so, the physical emancipation of middle and upper-class women came slowly. One newspaper correspondent in 1886 deplored the 'false modesty and gross ignorance' of strict chaperonage which confined these women.[91] 'In this country' he observed, 'it is considered immodest and indelicate for women to ride, walk, row, swim, run, or in fact do anything that their sisters in large countries are permitted to do, without fear of "Mrs Grundy"'.[92] This may have been stretching the truth somewhat, for it was at precisely this time that a modicum of physical emancipation had arrived for these poor souls. Moxly who was a contemporary observed:

> The introduction of lawn-tennis has proved a great boon to the residents here, and chiefly perhaps to the ladies, who, before the advent of the game, were without any form of exercise, save that which could be obtained in the ball-room; and this, while it could not be had every day, or rather every night, is not calculated to produce the bloom of perfect health. [93]

Croquet was also played by women but never gained the same popularity as tennis. Riding had also become another acceptable pastime for women, but its unpopularity as a means of exercise was attributed to 'the hardness of the roads' cut out of the coral cap of the island.[94] Cycling had emerged by the 1890s as a popular but controversial leisure activity for middle and upper-class women in England.[95] The firm of Philip King advertised 'Ladies Ramblers' for twenty-eight dollars in 1899 and F. S.Dimmick sold Ladies Crescent Chainless' and 'Ladies Sterling' bicycles.[96] Cycling was not cheap and there was little indication from the local press of its popularity among Barbadian women. The 'women' cyclists on which the press commented, were two men in womens' costumes in the New Year's Bicycle Procession of 1900.[97]

It was tennis above all which released middle and upper-class women from house confinement to restore the 'bloom' of their 'fading lily tint' complexions.[98] Tennis for women posed little problems to the white middle and upper classes ideology of normative domestic arrangements and the sexual division of labour. After all, the game was nurtured initially in the private sphere of the respectable residential spaces belonging to those classes. 'With few exceptions,' observes Roberta Park, 'women played their sports away from the prying eyes of the public. Whereas the male sports model was intentionally a very public cultural performance, women's sporting events remained largely cloistered.'[99] The domestic and private setting of tennis made it 'safe' for a measure of contact between the sexes. Moxly notes that through lawn tennis parties and receptions 'frequent opportunities are given for the meeting of people, young and old, of which ...full advantage seems to be taken.'[100] These parties and receptions, which became a weekly fare in white elite circles, provided one of the few occasions where young members of the opposite sex from various parts of the Island could court.

Even as tennis clubs developed and the playing of the game took place outside the garden party setting, the game did not lose its appeal as a vehicle for encountering the opposite sex. It was probably no exaggeration to say that lawn tennis 'has effected quite a revolution in the afternoon habits of young Barbados.'[101] Judging from the schedule of play which Fraser lists in his *Directory*, there could be little doubt that tennis was indeed now a popular game, absorbing the afternoon of the youth.[102] The playing schedules of the major clubs suggest that there was a conscious attempt to encourage contact between members of different clubs during the week. The Enmore Club played on Tuesday; the Enmore Sixteen on Wednesday; the Hermits in Belleville on Monday and Thursday; the

Strathclyde also on Thursday; and the Belleville Club played any day of the week.[103]

It was not only unmarried young middle class women who benefitted from the liberating force of tennis. The employment of nurses by the new middle classes of Belleville for instance, freed wives to engage their husbands, relatives or friends in a regular game, or simply get together around the court for a chat. Tennis clubs were about the only sports organizations to which women could gain access alongside men. The Hermits Lawn Tennis Club admitted ladies for seventy-two cents with a ninety-six cents quarterly subscription, compared to two dollars and three dollars respectively for the gentlemen.[104] Tennis was one of the very few sports where it became generally accepted for women to play against men. It was certainly not chivalrous and manly for a gentleman to be seen to take advantage of a woman even in sport; and of course for a woman to be challenging a man was not ladylike. The mixed-double was the perfect solution to this conundrum. Writing of the English context in the same period, McCrone posits: 'In a sense mixed doubles symbolised the traditional marriage relationship in which woman, as helpmeet, played a supportive role.'[105]

Some other leisure activities were much slower in penetrating what 'Viator' called 'absurd "social formulas"'. 'Imagine,' he said, 'a party of ladies and gentlemen putting on bathing costumes and going to Hastings for a dip. Why their family and friends, to say nothing of society at large, would take ten years to recover the shock!'[106] Nearly three decades later, 'Vaquero' recognised that at Hastings beach the Barbadian women kept at a 'discreet distance' from the men, and the only ones happily invading the men's space were 'lady tourists.'[107] Black working-class women cared little for such cultural codes intended to keep women subordinate. 'Vaquero' observed that both at work and at play, blacks, unlike their white counterparts did not practice the separation of the sexes.[108] This did not mean that black working-class women enjoyed an unhindered equality with their men, only that leisure played little part in defining their social roles in relation to men.

Race, Religion and Rational Recreation

As demands for recreation grew from the 1880s, some sections of the middle classes attempted to harness and direct their own recreation, as well as that of the lower classes, into appropriate channels of rational and self-improving outlets. The coloured and black

middle classes also enthusiastically supported the campaign for rational recreation. Generally, they accepted the dominant eurocentric discourse which associated Afrocreole working class culture with irrationality, ignorance and backwardness. They were eager for their working-class brothers to demonstrate that the race as a whole had progressed and that they were not inferior to their white Eurocreole counterparts.

In 1880 the *Herald* warmly greeted the 'penny readings' consisting of recitations, piano music and religious singing, launched by St. Mary's Anglican Church. It noted:

> ...to furnish an evening's innocent amusement in the ordinarily dull routine of city life in Bridgetown is a praiseworthy one in itself, but the attempt to carry the refining influence of recreation of this character into the densely crowded district which surrounds the church, is still more so. It serves to bring the different classes in contact, and to promote good feeling. It is the influence of those who have the advantage of social position and better culture that we must look to leaven the lower strata of society and to help forward the progress of society...[109]

In June 1880, on the initiative of Captain Grant of the British Foreign Bible Society, a branch of the YMCA was launched in Bridgetown with the aim of keeping young workers out of the drink saloons, and instead, into improving activities like reading and Bible study.[110] The YMCA was directed by an alliance of evangelicals from the Anglican, Wesleyan-Methodist and Moravian Churches and depended on the material support of the Bridgetown mercantile community.[111] This attempt to rescue the urban youth met with opposition from many city youths and in 1883, this 'Salvation Army' had enrolled a mere sixty of the hundreds of city youth.[112]

The introduction of Bank Holidays meant that more people were looking for outdoor activities on those occasions. Church fund-raising bazaars grew in popularity and provided an opportunity to combine open air pleasure with activity designed to glorify God. St. Martin's Anglican Church, for example, held its Boxing Day bazaar near the Bushy Park railway station, in aid of its organ fund.[113] Children were enticed with Sunday school treats as in the cases of the Anglican Cathedral and the Moravians, who entertained 200 children on separate bank holidays in 1890.[114]

The black and coloured middle classes enthusiastically joined the band of recreation reformism. Their primary concern was for their blood brothers among the working class, who still engaged in 'unenlightened' Afrocentric leisure forms. The *Times*, mouthpiece of this nonwhite middle class, was confident that the educational reforms begun in the middle

1870s, for which Bishop Mitchinson was credited, would progressively dispel the 'darkness' of black folk culture. Expressions of Afro-creole culture had been criticised, and in some cases criminalized during slavery. Nevertheless, these cultural forms persisted after emancipation, especially among the 'rough' elements of the black working class. This was in spite of Christian evangelization and elementary education. A visiting folklorist, having been a guest at Carrington Plantation collecting black working class songs, came away with the impression that religious songs had become preferable to the 'profane' and secular songs of the past among Afro-Americans.[115]

This, too, was the happy concurrence of the *Times* which observed that during the Christmas celebrations of 1889, numerous choirs organized among the people were singing carols instead of 'the senseless, bawdy songs, which used to be sung by the people a few short years ago, and which they ignorantly thought a fit means of expressing their joy and delight at the return of the "sovereign of anniversaries."'[116] Despite the separation of residential space, working-class minstrels known as 'scrubbers', invaded the residential enclaves of the well-to-do to make grandiloquent speeches and serenade with 'carols' like:

> Hark the herald angels sing
> Open *de larduh* and *gih* we *sumting*;
> Peace on earth and mercy mild
> Two rums for a man and one for a *chile*.[117]

The poetry and indigenous carols accompanied the beating of the drums of the tuk bands, and men in masquerade costumes performed on stilts.[118]

The *Times* however, expressed its satisfaction at the 'evident moral improvement' of the 'lower classes' during Christmas celebrations:

> It is well within the memory of even very young people how the members of these classes used to make Christmas holiday dismal with drums and other instruments of hideous tone, to the great annoyance and disgust of middle and upper class people.... But all of that is much changed now. The deafening drum and odious horn have given place to the classic violin and sweet-toned clarionet.... This is a most agreeable record to make and proves that we are deriving some advantage in return for the large amount of money we spend on education and religion.[119]

The *Weekly Recorder* also commented on these changes in 1897:

> There were no bands of drunken revellers, no midnight disturbers... no disgusting scenes of riotous debauchery to shock the orderly and affront the decent, no vulgar exhibitions of street-dancing to the accompanyment [sic] of drums and triangles - instruments of torture in the hands of the unskilled...[120]

Village choirs engaged in predawn carolling continued to be received favourably by the press,[121] and by 1909 Christmas celebrations were said to be 'sober, discrete [and] devoid of those orgies... characteristic of bygone days.'[122]

It was not so much that the black working class had repudiated their 'traditional' Afro-creole festivities, as the fact that they sought an accommodation within the dominant culture. This point can be illustrated by the study of tea meetings and services of song which in the 1840s were introduced by the Methodists and Moravians for civilizing and fund-raising purposes.[123] Tea meetings served the evangelical churches in raising funds for their missionary work in exchange for Sunday evening light entertaintment including Biblical readings, recitations and hymn singing. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, tea meetings had been transformed by the black working class into personal fund-raising events held in enclosed booths, next to houses or friendly society lodges, with admission ranging from six pence to one shilling.[124] Rev. Greville John Chester wrote:

> Sometimes a cottager in want of money will give a tea, charging a shilling entrance, and the entertainment lasts till sunrise next morning. These teas lead to a great deal of immorality, and the evil is rather increased than lessened by the vociferous singing of the most sacred hymns throughout the whole night.[125]

As elsewhere in the British Caribbean, they were characterised by grandiloquent oratory, competitive solos, and dialogues interspersed with 'pig Latin,' accompanied by uproarious audience response which went on until daybreak.[126] Reginald Barrow as a young theological student was happy to write scripts for tea meetings.[127] However, because of the negative reputation tea meetings had gained, religious groups attempted to reclaim the exclusively religious and rational purpose of the original form by introducing services of song[128] but even these were syncretized with Afro-creole culture until their disappearance in the 1970s.

This can again be illustrated by the black working-class engagement with neoevangelicalism from the 1890s. Sects such as the Christian Mission and the Salvation Army were more concerned with the redemption of the soul than the reinvigoration of the

body. They were less enthusiastic about sport and strictly forbade a range of leisure activities; so all-day conventions and 'quarterly services' were organized in order to safeguard their followers from 'worldly pleasure.' For instance, the Salvation Army on October bank holiday in 1900, held a 'Day with God,' for the 'deepening of spiritual life', drawing contingents from all across the Island for a service of an 'enthusiastic character.'[129] It may seem ironic that such puritanical religious groups became the popular churches for the black masses from the late 1890s.

On closer examination however, one finds that some of the neoevangelical movements lent themselves more easily to the recrudescence of Afro-religious culture which was less concerned with the dichotomy of sacred and secular, penance and pleasure. Leisure and entertainment for Afro-creoles were not escapes from dull religion. Quarterly religious conventions themselves took on a festive air, as black working-class 'brothers and sisters' came with packed food baskets to hear rousing preaching punctuated by responsive 'Amen and Hallelujah!' Syncopated music and singing and dancing 'in the spirit' were also involved. Like the tea meetings, services of song, and love feasts of the Moravians and Wesleyan-Methodists, the entertainment sponsored by the new movements drew enthusiastic support. One visitor who decided to arrive early at an evening of entertainment provided by the Salvation Army discovered that the hall was already packed and he had to elbow his way to a reserved seat.[130]

Tea meetings, services of song, love feasts and quarterly conventions became illustrations of black working class rejection of the secular - sacred dichotomy, and the attempts by some evangelicals to replace 'uncivilized' leisure forms with rational instrumental ones. Instead, as Abrahams observes, Afro-creole forms such as the tea meeting preserved the contrarieties of the two, illustrating the creative and open-ended nature of Afro-centric culture.[131] Instead of hegemonic incorporation by elite leisure culture, black working-class culture kept the former under the defensive.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, religious ideology was less frequently deployed by the middle class as a constraint upon leisure, perhaps because they were the chief apostates. It became acceptable for certain forms of organized recreation to take place on Sunday outside the confines of a church hall. For instance the Hastings Rocks Committee in early 1900 announced plans for sacred band concerts on Sunday,[132] apparently inspired by similar 'progressive' trends in England while 'Little England' trailed far behind.[133] By 1905 these concerts were popular, although still offending some pious

sections of the society.[134]

It was not so much piety that made some sections of the middle and upper classes uncomfortable about Sunday leisure, but concern that their *visible* desecration of the Sabbath may undermine their moral hegemony over the masses. The pursuit of leisure activity behind the hedges of spatially separated leafy suburbs enabled the middle and upper classes to pursue their charade of respect for the Sabbath. The leader writer of the *Agricultural Reporter* in March 1903, was infuriated that thirteen members of the House of Assembly, voted for an amendment to the Whaling Act to prevent fishing on Sunday. He argued: 'If fishermen are not to fish on a Sunday under a heavy penalty, then the class from which these mock puritan legislators are drawn and which plays tennis and croquet and bridge on Sundays should also be prohibited under a heavier penalty.'[135] This was indeed a stinging indictment coming as it did from a newspaper which represented the elite. The Bill was however defeated in the Legislative Council and represented some swing in opinion, considering that just twelve years before the entire Legislature approved an Act against shooting birds on Sunday.[136]

Respect for Sunday did not suddenly give way to unrestrained hedonism, and the black working classes did not surrender their own sense of reverence for that day. As one visitor observed:

> But Sunday is no time to see Barbados. I walked entirely across the island without meeting one donkey-cart, so numerous on week-days. There was scarcely a wheeled vehicle in all the long white vista of highways, except a rare bicycle and the occasional automobile of a party of American tourists. Pedestrians were as rare; the people were everywhere shut in behind their tight-closed wooden shutters, a few of them singing hymns, most of them sleeping in their air-tight cabins.[137]

Respectable restraint was still expected in all activity and even among the black working classes the singing of bawdy secular songs were forbidden on this day. Fitzherbert Adams, a head teacher, was said to have established a curfew of 6.00 pm for his sons to be back home on Sunday, and whistling was absolutely forbidden in the home on that day.[138] Well into the 1960s children were frequently warned in working class homes, 'don' sing nuh banja in 'dis house 'pun Sunday!'

It was the establishment of cinema more than anything else which transformed Sunday leisure, not only for the upper classes but for the working classes. In 1912 the London Electric Theatre of J. E. Branker on High St., Bridgetown promised to bring the

London West End to Bridgetown, featuring shows every evening including Sunday, from 8.15 pm to 9.50 pm. For as low as eight cents (four pence) a working class young man could enter the 'pit', but for a more 'decent' place, particularly if accompanied by a member of the opposite sex, the cost was twice this. Others more financially sound could pay for the one-shilling seats. Among the fare were war newsreels, comedy and western drama.[139] After what Franck calls disparagingly, a night of '[s]houts, screams, [and] roof- raising roars of primitive laughter' there was a rush to catch one of the last mule-cars when shows finished by 10 pm.[140]

Gambling was one of the more serious leisure forms attacked by evangelicals and the state. Gambling, predicated upon 'luck and chance', not only failed the test of rationality, but was perceived as threatening the social integrative role of thrift and industry. Consequently, it came under a phalanx of legislation including: succeeding Vagrancy Acts[141], Liquor Licenses Acts;[142] and the Gaming Act.[143] By these measures the leading classes of Barbados hoped to root out gambling from the street, and every public place where working-class gambling could be harboured. Yet the experience of Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica illustrate the 'selective ban' which Holt writes about Britain.[144]

The annual race meetings which were organized by the social elite attracted spectators from all strata, and betting was a feature of the range of activity on the Garrison Savannah. It was because of widespread gambling that many evangelicals forbade their members to attend the races. Brother Inniss of the Calvary Moravian Church alerted his fellow helpers to be on the look out for members who would flout the church's rules forbidding attendance at the races.[145] As a result one man and two women were suspended from communion for a month for selling at the races. For the more 'serious' sin of attending 'for pleasure', Brothers John Holder and Alexander Manning were suspended for three months.[146] It was a violation of section seven of the Vagrancy Act 1897-14 to promote gambling in public, but for nearly a decade the police turned a blind eye to the organized 'pari-mutual' betting condemned by the *Times* as 'common gambling in refined circles.'[147]

One campaign led by a Mr. Chambers in 1907 did result in a few prosecutions for gambling at the races which drove the Barbados Turf Club into the protective arms of the Legislature.[148] Mr. Reece acknowledged that the two race days constituted a 'carnival' and the people should be allowed 'to run riot' on those days, rather than drive gambling underground in the wider community.[149] Reece's argument prevailed in the House of

Assembly, but the Legislative Council upheld the invidious original draft absolving only the Pari-Mutuel [sic] of the Barbados Turf Club from the sanction of the proposed Vagrancy (Amendment) Act.[150] The various games of chance operated by the working classes received no legislative protection, and were left to the merciful discretion of the police.

Many of the working class paid little attention to antigambling propaganda or legislation. Daring rum-shopkeepers contrary, to the terms of their liquor licenses, permitted gambling in the back rooms of their establishments. In recompense for this service a charge on the game, called 'lights' was made to the proprietor.[151] The casual assistant to the proprietor called the shop 'corporal' rented dice and cards, collected 'lights', and saw to it that the thirst of avid gamblers in back rooms was quenched with an uninterrupted flow of drinks.[152] Little boys were employed to look out for approaching constables, and the ingenious use of bells[153] made '[i]t is exceedingly difficult for the Police to get any evidence of gambling on licensed premises.'[154]

Besides gambling, there were other forms of leisure pursuits which flew in the face of the concept of 'rational recreation.' Watson points out that the blood sport of cockfighting was popular among the elite in the eighteenth century,[155] but scarcely a mention was made of it by the popular media in the 1880s. Cockfighting was still a pastime of the English leisure classes, and was one of the organized leisure activities for male tourists on the Royal Mail steamers visiting the Caribbean.[156] The sport was certainly illegal in Barbados[157] and might have continued clandestinely, with the police looking the other way. At least this was what the *Times* actually accused police detectives of doing in the case of dog fighting.[158]

In 1888 the *Herald* called for the resuscitation of the SPCA, in view of the bludgeoning of cattle on their way to market by drivers accompanied by cheering crowds.[159] Occasional disgust over the stoning of dogs by boys was expressed,[160] but debates over animal and blood sport never assumed the importance it did in Britain, largely because Barbados, as one sporting enthusiast observed, was 'destitute of anything that would be called game in other parts of the world more favoured with animal life.'[161] MacKenzie identifies hunting as an elite ritual in which the British imperial ruling classes symbolised their masculinity and mastery over any remaining 'untamed' forces in the colonial world.[162] Barbados offered no such testing ground.

> As almost every foot of the country is under cultivation it is needless to say there is no hunting to be had, for with the exception of the monkeys in Turner's Hall woods, and they are exceedingly shy, there are no wild animals on the island; nor is there any shooting worth the name, although some species of plover and snipe rest on their migratory passage from America to some unknown land.[163]

Some planters dug artificial swamps to attract migratory birds but, as Stark observed cynically, there was certainly 'quite an excitement about the "shooting;" but there are usually more gunners than there are birds.'[164]

Some working-class leisure forms were criticised for their apparent cruelty. One of them was the martial art of cudgelling, or 'stick-licking'. A man's stick was a source of pride and often decorated ornately and given a personal name. Newspaper accounts of fights and squabbles invariably noted the use of German 'Hollow Ground Razors' or sticks. When the first statistics were issued from the casualty of the General Hospital in 1889, the *Herald* expressed horror at the 264 cases of wounding reported, of which 45 appeared to be 'blows with sticks.'[165]

Wounding also became associated in the press with working-class dances. During 1884 a spate of serious criminal cases were reported in the press which took place at working class dance halls. In April 1884 John Cumberbatch was brought before the Court of Grand Sessions charged with the murder of Robert Christopher Atherly at a dance hall in Gaskin Tenantry, St. Philip, on Boxing Day the year before.[166] A couple of months later, a report coming out of Sugar Hill, St. Joseph stated that a constable was stabbed at a dance held by labourers.[167] Before the Grand Session in December of the same year, Emanuel Payne was prosecuted with causing grievous bodily harm to John Evelyn, at a dance house at Lodge Hill, Christ Church.[168] Isolated cases like these served to reinforce in the minds of the upper classes that black working class entertainment ought to be more closely regulated. Contributing to the debate on a proposed bill in 1885 to regulate places of public entertainment the *Herald* called for stiffer regulation:

> The dancing room in Barbados is an altogether different place to the dancing hall in the mother country. It is not frequented by the more respectable working classes, and it becomes a nuisance to a respectable neighbourhood on account of riot and noise, and the wretched discordant braying of some wretched apology for music half the night through.[169]

These attempts to regulate and rationalize black working-class leisure as an instrument of 'progress' were not pursued with equal enthusiasm by all sections of the white elite. This was especially true of those forms of leisure which, during the course of slavery, had become recognised and indeed supported by the planters. For instance, black rural agricultural labourers continued their regular 'brams' or all-day dance festivals held on plantation pastures on the major annual holidays, when gaily dressed women and men danced to the tuk band and men displayed their stick-licking skills.[170] Accounts of such activity in agricultural reports of the parishes indicate their integral part in plantation life. The agricultural correspondent for the parish of St. Joseph noted an apparent drop in the number of brams around the Christmas Holidays in 1879, but they were back to their usual level for the Easter holidays 1880.[171]

'Crop-over' or 'Harvest Home'[172] was another festival held by workers on many estates to mark the end of the sugar harvest and it was supported by the planters. The Newton Plantation spent $46.20 to treat its labourers at the end of the sugar crop in 1883.[173] On the last day of the cane harvest, usually some time in May or June, the last canes reaped were delivered ceremonially to the mill. The carts and draught animals were decorated with flowers and flags made of colourful Madras handkerchiefs tied to sticks of sugar cane.[174] A speech was made by an eloquent labourer to the planter and his family, usually expressing appreciation for employment and treats given in the course of the season. This was followed by the dancing of quadrilles and what seemed to be an indigenous dance known as the 'Jo an' Johnny.'[175] A trash or megasse-filled effigy, know as the 'Trashman' or 'Old Harding,' was paraded symbolizing the coming of 'hard times.'[176]

A contemporary observer in 1892 remarked that such festivals were on the retreat, and not as popular as a decade before.[177] At one plantation fete in St. Andrew only an old couple walking with sticks knew how to perform the 'Jo an' Johnny'.[178] This view of rural leisure culture seems remarkably close to the judgment of the *Times* in the same period, and to which reference has already been made. This 'change for the better' was again articulated as a visible index of the non-whites' capacity for progress, civilization and responsibility. In a statement which would have met with the approval of the black and coloured middle classes, this observer noted: 'In the race for self-improvement, I do not think anyone can deny the man of colour has distanced the white man; because it seems to me, the coloured man knew his complexion was a barrier to his success, and to get over

that he must have more than mediocrity to offer.'[179]

Whatever changes occurred in black working-class leisure forms were unlikely to have been the result of any success in the rational leisure campaign. The expansion of cheaper transportation opened up a broader range of leisure opportunities across the Island. The influx of Panama money in the early 1900s, the growth of consumerism and the slow dissolving of plantation paternalistic bonds, all contributed to shifts in leisure and entertainment patterns. More importantly, by the 1890s, the growth of organized sport, especially cricket, had become incontestably the national sport, with effective imperial links and a devotion which cut across all social barriers. If the hegemony of the ruling classes was in any way entrenched through leisure forms, perhaps cricket may have been the prime candidate.

Chapter 6

1. See for example, James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (London: Longman, 1978); for a survey of the Victorian period see, Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'The Victorians at Play: Problems in Historiographical Methodology,' *Journal of Social History* 15: 2 (1981): 271- 88; see also, Richard Holt, *Sport and The British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 357-367, for a critical historiographical essay.

2. Joffre Dumazadier, 'Leisure' in David Sills, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), 148-253.

3. Victor Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid, in Play flow, and Ritual', 35-40.

4. For a critique of modernization, see, T. Judt, 'A Clown in Regal Purple,' *History Workshop Journal* (Spring 1979), 66-92.

5. Richard S. Gruneau, 'Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development,' in Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon, eds., *Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).

6. For example, John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986); and for a critical discussion of the intellectual history of this school in Britain, see, David Harris, *From Class Struggle to the Politics of Pleasure: The Effects of Gramscianism on Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1992), Chapter 8, 147-73.

7. See following chapter on cricket for a more detailed discussion and engagement with that work.

8. John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, 8.

9. 'Echoes of the Week', *Herald*, Mon.,17 Dec. 1883.

10. Warren Alleyne, *Historic Bridgetown* (Barbados: Barbados National Trust, 1978), 93-4.

11. *Herald*, Thursday 14 Jan., 1886.

12. Ibid.

13. 'The proposed Public Garden' *Herald*, Thurs., 27 Oct. 1887.

14. *The Bee*, 19 Aug. 1887, 3.

15. Ibid.

16. *Herald*, Mon., 14 Nov. 1887.

17. *Times*, 6 July 1892.

18. *Bee*, Frid., 13 June 1887, 246.

19. See Letter to the Editor from 'Another Subscriber,,' *Herald*, 8 Sept. 1892.

20. See letter to the editor from 'Truth' responding to such a charge from an editorial in the *Wesleyan Watchman*, *Herald*, 16 Jan. 1888.

21. Letter from 'New York,' *Taxpayer*, Frid., 28 Oct. 1892, 4.

22. Franck, *Roaming through the West Indies*, 366-67.

23. 'Vaquero', *Life and Adventure in the West Indies* (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1914), 111.

24. Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 192.

25. 'Hastings Rocks Committee,' *Globe*, Wed., 12 March 1902.

26. *Globe*, Frid., 14 March 1902.

27. 'Paul Pry', 'A Plea for a Police Band' letter to the Editor. *Herald*, Mon., 15 Feb. 1886.

28. 'House of Assembly, Tuesday 16 Feb., 1904,' *Reporter*, Sat., 20 Feb., 1904, 4; MCA 1904-05, doc 156, A. B. R. Kaye, 'Report of the Police Force for 1904,' p. 4.

29. A reduction in the regular duties of band members was called for by the editor of the *Globe*, 2 July, 1906, to fill the void left by the Military Band. By 1907, demands on the 22 member band were so great that they had to be almost totally withdrawn from regular policing, MCA 1907-08, doc 100, A. B. R. Kaye, 'Report of the Police Force of the Colony for 1907.'

30. Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), 140.

31. For a description of many of these sites, see, J. H. Sutton Moxly, *A West Indian Sanatorium and a Guide to Barbados* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886), Chs. VI and VII, 58-122.

32. Theatre Act, 1894--4, preamble.

33. DHA, OG 34: 25, 17 March 1904 pp. 247-51; OG 39: 29, 31 March 1904, pp. 267-269.

34. RB4/88/, Will of George William Carrington, 20 Feb. 1891, pp. 508-10 in BDA; 'The Carrington Bequest Bill' Speech of Hon. W. H. Greaves, DHC, 14 Jan., 1896, p. 67.

35. 'The Norham Devise', MCA 1895-96, doc. 60; DHA 4 Feb 1896, p. 111-13; DHA, 10 March 1896, pp. 166-67.

36. *Globe*, Mon., 27 Jan. 1896.

37. *Standard*, Sat., 16 Sept. 1911, 8.

38. Bridgetown, Speightstown, and Hole Town Act, 1891--41, sec 16 and Police Act, 1890--19, pt. 7, sec. 85.

39. 'Order', 'Cow Racing,' letter to the Editor, *Herald*, Thurs., 12 Nov. 1885.

40. 'A Dangerous and Criminal Practice,' *Agricultural Reporter*, 16 April 1900; *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 28 April 1900.

41. Edward Colstone Widgery vs. C. J. Lawrence, in G. A. Fields, ed., *Barbados Reports* v. 2 (Barbados: James Fraser, 1904), 54-58.

42. Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours For what We Will*, 143.

43. 'Recreational Grounds,' *Herald*, Sat., 18 April 1896.

44. See his criticism of Government's action in rejecting the bequest and their failure to extend the hours of the Library, PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, para. 948, p. 195.

45. The Constitution Swamp and the Reef (Vesting) Act, 1894--4.

46. 'An Appeal on Behalf of the Recreational Grounds,' *Agricultural Reporter*, Sat., 14 Sept. 1901, 2.

47. *Weekly Recorder*, 18 May 1906, 4.

48. Ibid.

49. See, Henry Fraser, Carrington, Forde, and Gilmore, *A-Z of Barbadian Heritage* (Kingston: Heinemann, 1990), 143.

50. See, 'Savannah Regulation Bill,' DHA, Tues., 29 Jan. 1907, pp. 92-96.

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151. CO 28/246, no 165 Hay to Chamberlain 14 Sept 1898 w/ encls. These papers pertaining to charges against Police Magistrate Seon for his lack of vigilance in issuing liquor licences, give a remarkable and rare insight into working class covert gambling in rumshops.

152. Ibid. See for example testimony of William Manning (Packer) in encl: 'Copy from Magisterial evidence Book marked "A"'; encl: 'Evidence taken in the Assistant Court of Appeal in re Lance Sergeant Major Davis vs. Mary E. Green.'

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CHAPTER 7

CRICKET AND CULTURAL HEGEMONY

When asked about the importance of cricket in Barbados, an outstanding black Barbadian cricketer stated, 'If there hadn't been cricket, we should have eaten one another.'[1] By the late nineteenth century cricket had become associated with ideas of imperial and colonial unity, social cohesion and the resolution of social conflict throughout the cricket-playing colonies of Britain. Implicit in this view was the notion that the game of cricket could mediate class and ethnic conflicts, while facilitating effective rule by those wielding political power.

Much of the more recent historiography of West Indian cricket, focuses on cricket culture as one of the more (if not the most) effective means by which British imperial and white creole cultural hegemony was established through its transmission of English values to the West Indies. Such values emphasised tolerance, the rule of law, obedience, respect for authority, conciliation to the opposition, and similar consensual ideals.[2] Stoddart is the leading apostle of this interpretation with respect to cricket in Barbados. He argues that in comparison with other powerful socializing agencies like formal education and the churches; 'none were as powerful as cricket in creating *virtually without protest* a consensual Barbadian society.'[3]

However, there seems to be a need to re-examine the idea of cricket cultural hegemony in Barbados before 1914, in much the same way as this thesis has been seeking to do for other cultural spheres. Cashman's penetrating reassessment of the hegemonic thesis of colonial cricket suggests how this may be approached without necessarily rejecting the Gramscian concept of hegemony altogether.[4] Cashman has drawn attention to two broad perspectives in the various approaches in the historiography of colonial cricket. One perspective emphasises the success of cultural hegemony in the wake of effective proselytization by military men, schoolmasters of elite schools, and clergymen. The other perspective postulates that despite the enthusiastic embracing of cricket by all sections of some colonial societies, ultimately the English imperialistic ideology was subverted, especially by the most oppressed of the colonized and cricket was thereby transformed into an important cultural ingredient of nascent nationalism and proletarian struggle. Cashman

points out that these two perspectives need not be mutually exclusive.

Much of Cashman's concerns are verified empirically in the Barbados context. For instance, the absence of a coherent or developed ruling-class policy linking leisure and social order among the masses is clear from the past chapter. Even when the semblance of a policy could be deciphered significant gaps could be perceived between grandiose rhetoric and practice. There was therefore a contestation *within* the superordinate classes, as much as between them and the subordinate masses about the latter's access to, and role within, cricket. Possibly, most important of all is the need to examine more closely the evolution of a *counterhegemony* to whatever belated control agenda may have been set in train by the ruling elites. Here, a re-examination and reinterpretation of working-class crowd behaviour should be at the heart of this exercise.

Cricket was introduced into Barbados and the Anglophone Caribbean at the turn of the nineteenth century by the British military and colonial officials. In the case of Barbados, the earliest discovered reference to cricket is a notice of the St. Ann's Cricket Club on the front page of the *Barbados Mercury* of May 1806. Undoubtedly the club consisted of members of the British regiment stationed at St. Ann's Garrison and members of the local elite. Cricket constituted part of the cultural baggage which facilitated sociability between the English expatriates in the army and the local white elite creoles.

White creoles established firm control of the game which they saw primarily as a bond between themselves and their expatriate cousins. In the second half of the nineteenth century cricket came to be promoted, albeit rather slowly, as the national game with the capacity to embrace some of a darker hue. There were engagements between local teams and players from visiting naval and merchant vessels since the early nineteenth century, but it was not until 1865, six years after the English had sent their first team overseas, that the first Inter-Colonial match was played between Barbados and Demerara. In 1886 a West Indian team made its first international tour to Canada and the United States, which was followed by a return tour by the Americans in 1888.

The emergence of international cricketing contacts from just after the mid-nineteenth century coincided with the emergence of the cult of athleticism in the British public schools and the notion that sport was essential to the preparation of boys for national and imperial responsibility. It was also from the mid nineteenth century that the sport of cricket became an important part in the emerging ethos of Barbados' elite schools. Even before cricket clubs became firmly established in Barbados, a number of the local matches were between

the Lodge School and military teams from St. Ann's Garrison.[5] These two institutions, as Hamilton observes, were the pioneers of modern cricket in Barbados.[6]

Lodge, until 1879, was served by a succession of headmasters who were Anglican clergymen committed to muscular Christianity. Reverend Charles Clarke, who served as principal from 1865, was a keen cricketer himself who fostered the sport there, and when Lodge closed in 1879 due to financial difficulties, its cricket eleven was in the premier position among the clubs of the island.[7] The cricketing performance of the school shone once more when it reopened under Mr Campbell Tracey in 1881. Tracey, an MA graduate of Lincoln College, Oxford, played in the school's team and gained the reputation as a 'a very fair bowler, and a hard hitter with poor defence.'[8] Lodge School cricket reached its zenith under Tracey but his enthusiastic support for the game was unmatched by most of the other masters of the school. Smith, a former team captain, recalled that in his nine years at the school only two masters showed an interest in cricket. 'Whenever a new master arrived from England we used to collect in the porch in front of the school to see whether we could discover a cricket bag among his luggage, but we were disappointed each time.'[9] After a rapid turnover of headteachers in the 1890s it took the efforts of Oliver De Courcy 'Bill' Emtage, headmaster from 1899, to nurture the school back to cricketing health although never to its former glory. In 1908 the school won over Harrison College and the Spartan Club, but there was little doubt that generally speaking Lodge had long lost its premier position in the sport.[10]

Harrison College, did not have a playing field until the school relocated in 1871, but by the 1890s it had taken over from Lodge as the premier nursery of cricket culture and athleticism. The lead which Harrison College took in athleticism must be attributed to the unswerving commitment to muscular Christianity of Horace Deighton, headmaster from 1872 until 1905. The Minutes of the school's Board of Governors testify to Deighton's consistent demands for more and improved cricket facilities. He faithfully supported requests for the Board of Governors to pay for piped water to wet the field and funds to erect a cricket pavilion.[11] In addition, Deighton recommended masters for appointment who were also cricketing enthusiasts. Among these were two 1893 appointees, Arthur Somers Cocks and G. B. Y. 'Gussie' Cox. The former was English and a graduate of the Manchester Grammar School and Oriel College, Oxford, the latter was a Barbadian old boy of the school who won an Island Scholarship and gained an external Bachelor's degree from Durham University. Both served the college for thirty-one years, during which time

they wholeheartedly supported Deighton, and from 1906 Rev. Dalton, in the mission of disseminating the three 'Cs': Christianity, Classics and Cricket. Cocks was the consummate athlete; he was a worthy centre-half footballer, a formidable 100 yards athlete, and above all, a 'technically correct' bowler who between 1895 and 1909 took 565 wickets at just over eleven runs per wicket.[12] G. B. Y. 'Gussie' Cox was a noted all-round cricketer who, along with Somers Cocks, firmly established the cricket cult at Harrison College. By 1913 'Gussie' played with the second eleven team at the college after scoring 757 runs in his first-class career.[13] After his long service at Harrison College, he succeeded G. B. R. Burton as headmaster of Combermere.[14]

Combermere, the nursery of the black and coloured middle class, made its own contribution to cricket culture in Barbados. Between 1879 and 1896, Rev. T. Lyall Speed, a keen sportsman and a former colleague of Deighton at Harrison College, set the foundation for the cult of cricket at Combermere. It was however G. B. R. 'Pa B' Burton who built upon and consolidated Rev Speeds's efforts. Burton, like his mentor and former teacher Deighton, ensured that Combermere was equipped to produce boys fit for leadership, and cricket was promoted as a means of such preparation. Burton regularly placed appeals for cricket facilities before the Governing Body of the school regularly. While on leave in England he took the initiative to purchase a new lawn mower for the cricket grounds.[15] Burton complained consistently of the 'paltry playground' which Combermere had. In one of his speeches at the end of the 1918-19 school year Burton stated:

> ...but ladies and gentlemen, I think that a great war memorial for the Combermere school would be a good play field. (Cheers)... I still hope that we shall have in time a big playfield to train the boys to go to the help of the Empire if it should require them again and make it our war memorial. (Cheers)[16]

Combermere became the nursery for many of the modern first-class cricketers of the island in spite of its limited facilities. 'For it is quite incredible', states Wickham, 'that one small school with the ground the size of a postage stamp in a small island should have produced so many brilliant, world-class players of the national game.'[17]

The emergent mid-nineteenth century notion that cricket could inculcate 'character' in boys remained unchallenged well into this century. E. Dalyrymple Laborde, a master at the Lodge school, summed up this ideology in an article in the *Barbados Cricketer's*

Annual of 1910-11:

> It [cricket] trains the boy to be a sportsman, thus giving him one of the essential qualities of a gentleman. Many a boy would mope around contracting selfish ideas in solitude, if he were not dragged into the society of his fellows by the influence of cricket. Through the same influence all selfish tendencies are eradicated before the youth leaves school. In other words cricket teaches a boy how to mix with his fellows, and, as a man, how to mix with men.[18]

Other values of cricket were to inculcate 'discipline, unity and responsibility... *esprit de corps*.' A team captain was expected to learn how to exercise authority with responsibility, to remain clearheaded, cheerful, untiring, unbeaten, watchful - all the qualities to make him a great man.[19]

The schools elevens themselves may not have been especially strong teams in organized cricket tournaments with senior clubs, however, it was from the schools that the elite clubs drew their fresh stock. When in the 1911-12 cricket season Harrison College seemed to have been following Lodge in losing its high standard of cricket, one commentator was aghast:

> The failure of Harrison College, the Lodge or the Combermere, to supply worthy recruits to the ranks of the adult clubs, is a much more serious happening than the failure to win a game would at first suggest. The form displayed at these schools from season to season is to us what the meeting of Oxford and Cambridge is to English cricket or Havard and Yale to American baseball.[20]

Some graduates of these schools enjoyed the privilege, either as Barbados Scholars or by private support, to refine their experience as members of the Oxbridge elite. As will be identified later, a number of these became prominent in the organization and control of club cricket in Barbados.

The vast majority of blacks had no opportunity to attend the elite schools, and the elementary schools did not promote cricket. However, given the fact that bowling and fielding were considered labour activities, working-class blacks were involved as bowlers and groundsmen from the inception of the game in the island. Moreover, cricket was so dominated by an amateur and paternalistic ethos that occasions were relatively few when admission had to be paid to cricket grounds. On the occasions of the Intercolonial matches and when English teams visited, working people could still gain entry to the 'grounds' for

three pence.[21] Commercialization was not a major barrier to cricket culture in Barbados, but class and colour certainly were.

Up until the 1870s cricket clubs were transient, and competitions were sporadic. Wanderers Cricket Club, the oldest club which is still in existence in Barbados, emerged as a club for the white planters, large merchants and senior civil servants. It was founded around late June and early July 1877 and was granted a piece of the Bay Estate in St. Michael as a cricket ground by that estate's attorney, T. B. Evelyn.[22] Dr William K. Chandler, graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, was the club's president between 1894 and 1912 during which time he enjoyed an illustrious career on the bench, as Master of Chancery from 1882, a member of the Legislative Council over which he presided from 1910, and a substantial land owner.[23] By 1914 Chandler owned two sugar estates in St. Peter, totalling 548 acres and leased another of 260 acres.[24]

In 1913 the presidency of the club was taken by John O. Wright, a Bridgetown merchant who was elected to a seat in the House of Assembly in 1901 and elevated to the Legislative Council in 1910.[25] A number of members and players also held prominent political and official positions in the island's administration. For example, J. W. Carrington, a founder member of the club was from a prominent planter family. He was educated at Codrington College and Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1874 he was elected to the Assembly and appointed to the Solicitor Generalship and the Legislative Council in 1878.[26] George Laurie Pile was a descendant of a major land-owning family in the island, and Sinckler's *Barbados Handbook* for 1914 shows that he owned or controlled 1,812 acres in St. George and another 704 acres in St. John. Pile was a former Lodge School student, an Oxford graduate, and member of the Legislative Council.

The Wanderers boasted among its members the top merchants in Bridgetown. J. Gardiner Austin another founder-member of the club, established the firm of Gardiner Austin and Company and was also elected in the 1894-95 session to represent Bridgetown in the House of Assembly. His son H. B. G. Austin, born about the time Wanderers was founded, also became a prominent merchant-politician and led the second and third West Indian Cricket tour of England in 1906 and 1923 respectively. He was elected a member of the MCC in 1923 and was a prime mover in establishing the West Indies Cricket Board of Control in 1927.[27] Wanderers could also boast other prominent planter-merchants like A. S. Bryden, the Da Costas, and the Challenors, and top civil servants like the judge F. Bonham Smith who was the first Barbadian civil servant to receive the Imperial Service

Order,[28] and the outstanding attorney E. C. Jackman. The members of Wanderers were therefore the white planter-merchant oligarchy who not only controlled the legislature but also dominated what little organized cricket existed between 1877 and 1882. But a white skin was not the only qualification for membership in this club.

The closure of Lodge School and the temporary withdrawal of the British regiments in 1881 due to an outbreak of yellow fever severely curtailed cricketing activity in Barbados.[29] The only other major club in existence was Wanderers which failed to accommodate the growing number of white collar workers of Bridgetown who were thirsting for opportunities to play. This was not merely a question of numbers, but 'a tendency to exclusiveness on the part of the senior club.'[30] Consequently, in late 1882, merchant and civil servant clerks began to divide themselves in two teams and competed in a luncheon tournament on the Royal Artillery grounds.[31] This was followed by a number of meetings convened at the Public Library, out of which the Pickwick Cricket Club was born with about thirty members.[32] Although they were white, these merchant clerks, lower level civil servants and plantation supervisory staff were considered unfit candidates for the elitist Wanderers Club.

Pickwick did attract some planters, merchants, professionals and high-ranking civil servants, but these tended to be drawn either from the *nouveaux riches* or from families of relatively modest means. The Goodman brothers best illustrate the character of the Pickwick Club. Flavius, Gerald, Evan, Clifford and Percy were all keen cricketers, the latter four were included in the Barbados team against Trinidad in 1891-2 season. The Goodmans grew up on the 169-acres Sandford estate owned by their father Flavius A. Goodman. This modest estate was one crippled by the sugar crisis of the 1880s and was in chancery or receivership by 1887.[33] Gerald Aubrey Goodman, having been educated at Lodge and Harrison College, left for England where he graduated as a barrister from University College London. He soon won a seat in the House of Assembly for the parish of St. John, was appointed Solicitor General in 1896, and in the 1907-08 session became Attorney General and member of the Executive Council.[34]

Aubrey also became the longstanding president of Pickwick. Percy and Clifford became the outstanding cricketers of the family, both representing Barbados and the West Indies against English teams, and were possibly the first cricket icons of Barbados. Clifford, described by a friend as, 'six feet and some inches over, fine head and dark wavy hair..clean-shaven face...big neck and chest always bare..;' was ' a fast bowler of deadly

precision' and by 1911 was reputed to have been possibly the greatest West Indies bowler.[35] Socially, Clifford and Percy's accomplishments were more modest when compared to Aubrey's. Clifford was a civil service clerk and Percy became the headmaster of Foundation School in Christ Church and subsequently parochial treasurer of that parish. Although the Goodmans had their social origins in the plantocracy, changing economic conditions meant a shifting of the base for their social status.

The merchants associated with Pickwick, such as J. R. Bancroft, R. M. Jones and the Hoads were not among the traditional merchant families. Aubrey Goodman himself was the sole outstanding member of the legal profession in the club. G. O' Donnell Walton, who became vice president of Pickwick about 1908, was born in Montreal of a Barbadian physician, but he had to be satisfied with numerous acting positions before finally securing an appointment as a Police Magistrate.[36]

Colour may not have been sufficient to establish a common foundation for entry into particular cricketing fraternities, but it certainly was not inconsequential. The emergence of the Spartan Club around 1892 represented a testimony to that fact. Spartan boasted a membership consisting of the few members of the coloured middle class who had themselves become a social elite. Spartan came to be a symbol of the upwardly mobile non-whites who were enthusiastic about illustrating their progress and entitlement to the accession of elite culture.

Sir William Conrad Reeves as the clubs' president, embodied these dreams and aspirations. The son of a white apothecary and a free black woman, he was educated by private coloured teachers and as a young man came to the attention of the first outstanding coloured politician and antislavery advocate, Samuel Jackman Prescod. Reeves worked as a journalist on Prescod's *Liberal* newspaper before being aided by the local coloured middle class to go to England to study law at the Middle Temple, London. In 1874 he won a seat to the House of Assembly and was appointed Solicitor General, a position from which he resigned during the 'Confederation Crisis' of 1876. Reeves upheld the 'representative' principles of the established constitution, and opposed what was seen as an attempt to impose the 'benevolent despotism' of Crown Colony government in the island. In this stance Reeves proved to be no threat to the entrenched position of the white planter-merchant oligarchy. As an astute politician he played a pivotal role to win the confidence of both the Imperial power and local ruling class, and was largely the architect of the compromise constitutional changes of 1881 and encouraged the extension of the

franchise in 1884.

Reeves was made Attorney-General in 1882, became Queen's Counsel the following year and was promoted to the office of Chief Justice in 1886. Three years later he was knighted and came to enjoy a reputation as a most outstanding jurist and politician.[37] Reeves was presented by the local elite and the Imperial government as a symbol of the 'openness' of colonial society and imperial rule. When Chamberlain considered vetoing the proposal of the Barbados House of Assembly to expend a portion of government funds to erect a monument to Reeves after his death, C. P. Lucas, Assistant Under-Secretary, convinced him to allow it, since 'it would be a valuable illustration of the absence of colour prejudice in the British Empire & in that part of it where such prejudice is supposed to be strongest.'[38]

Another outstanding coloured citizen and a vice-president of Spartan was James Challenor Lynch, son of James A. Lynch, merchant and estate owner. J. C. Lynch was a law graduate of Cambridge who chose to carry on his father's business, and to virtually duplicate his father's political career by representing Bridgetown in the House of Assembly from 1888, before his appointment as a member of the Legislative Council in the early 1900s.[39] There were also merchants like William L. Johnson, whose son Ralph, was described as 'slightly coloured';[40] Thomas Clarke Roberts, in the hardware business; and the Browne Brothers - Chester Allan 'Johnny' and Cyril Rutherfood 'snuffie' who were graduates of Harrison College and directors of Browne and Company Jewellers.[41] The club attracted a few professionals like its secretary-treasurer, the barrister Herbert Montague Cummins, and civil servants like Graham Trent Cumberbatch, Assistant Inspector of Schools. Fitzherbert George Knight and Harry Massiah Seon both worked in the judiciary as clerks and later acted on the bench, but were long in gaining an appointment.[42] Harry's father, Henry Sharp Massiah, had also served in a similar capacity, and although not a trained barrister was appointed to act on occasions as Police Magistrate and Judge of the Assistant Court of Appeal. Governor Lees thought it was prudent 'to appoint where practicable a gentleman of colour possessing the confidence of the people who may be qualified in other respects as one of the judges.'[43]

Spartan could boast at least one illustrious member of the white community. William Herbert Greaves was educated at Lodge and at Edmund College, Oxford, where he graduated with a BA in Jurisprudence in 1879, becoming a barrister at the Middle Temple in 1880. Greaves entered politics on returning to Barbados, becoming Solicitor

General in January 1887 and Attorney General from March 1896 until his appointment as Chief Justice. For the latter appointment, he was highly recommended by Governor Hodgson over the other candidate, Chandler, because he was not 'mixed up in any commercial undertakings.'[44] Greaves gained a reputation for fairness on the bench and secured a large measure of trust from the general population in his decisions.[45] Greaves was a vice-president of the club and became president following the death of Sir Conrad Reeves.

Although cricket was dominated by the urban middle and upper classes, rural planters and plantation functionaries, who found it inconvenient to join Pickwick or Wanderers, established clubs of their own. Windward Cricket Club, for example, was first formed by Flavius, the eldest of the Goodman brothers at Sandford, St. Philip.[46] By 1895 it was based at the Codrington College grounds, with the principal of the College, Reverend Canon Bindley as its president.[47] The club catered for whites in the windward parishes of the island, many of whom were old Lodge School boys. Among its members and players were members of the Pilgrim family that managed Vineyard Plantation in St. Philip, B. G. Outram the manager of Bowmanston in St. John, Edwin Clarke, manager of Pool in St. John and Joseph E. Phillips, manager of Foursquare in St. Philip. The club was reported to have attracted some of the players from already established clubs at its inauguration.[48] Clifford Goodman turned out for the club in the 1902-03 season. G. Laurie Pile, who resided in St. George, and was a member of Wanderers, also played briefly for the club. Windward gained a reputation for leisurely cricket and did not once come close to winning the Cup Competition. In fact its scores often did not reach the Bridgetown press, it dropped out of the competition for the 1903-04 season and some of its members failed in their bid to play for Lodge School.[49]

Leeward Cricket Club, at the other end of the island, was of a similar character as Windward. Its core membership consisted of white members connected to planting interests. Its ground was at Hannays Plantation, St. Lucy and the club's president was Henry A. Pile, a member of the noted land-owning Pile family. The secretary was T. E. Norton Deane of Broomfield, St. Lucy. The club however drew members far away from its ground including some members from St. Michael, such as the three Hoad brothers Charles Fred and John from Strathclyde, and the engineers, James C. Mcqueen and F. George Sampson.[50]

These clubs which were all established by the early 1890s clearly reflected the

social boundaries within Victorian and early Edwardian Barbados. The linkages between the three elite boys' schools and club membership illustrates the continuity of class position by birth. For example, the majority of Spartan members were old boys of Combermere, or exhibition winners at Harrison College or Lodge. Harrison College, and to a lesser extent, Lodge, fed Wanderers, whereas Pickwick drew its members from the 'poorer' whites who had gained access to Lodge or Harrison College.

However cricket more than reflected social divisions, it reproduced them and mediated possible conflicts between these groups. Cricket enabled the planter-merchant elite, both ritually and temporally, to cross the social divide between themselves and their employees and also with 'respectable' upwardly mobile non-whites who demonstrated their capacity for 'improvement.' Latent class consciousness for example was played out in the annual quest for cricketing mastery between Pickwick and Wanderers, a game which was the focus of national attention. Cricket sociability even extended to black working class players, once the latter accepted their own 'place'. Their function was to be cricket labourers - euphemistically called 'professionals' - and never to engage with 'gentlemen' on the same terms.

As the drama of openness, conciliation and unity, was played out on the expanses of cricket fields, the hoards of spectators, including masses of blacks, were expected to learn appropriate civic and labour duties as the game was played 'in the right spirit.' The establishment of the Cup Committee and a Cup Competition in 1892 followed the first triangular intercolonial tournament involving Barbados, Trinidad and Demerara, which took place the previous year. The founding of a Cup Committee and Competition was partly a recognition that the white ruling class represented by Wanderers could no longer exercise a cultural hegemony through cricket except through the accommodation and incorporation of other sectors. Distinct class and colour barriers could still be maintained but the Cup Competition provided an opportunity whereby these divisions could be culturally mediated on the cricket fields. Moreover, through these contests individuals could be identified from the various clubs to be represented in future national teams which could secure broad-based support.

One of the prime movers behind the establishment of the Cup Committee was the captain of Wanderers, D. C. Ince. Dr. John Hutson also of Wanderers became the first Chairman of this self-appointed regulatory body. Provision was made on the Committee for 'Cup Representatives from each club on the Executive. In effect, the Barbados Cup

Committee determined which clubs in future could join this elite cricket fraternity and from the outset ruled: 'No professional under any circumstances to be allowed to play in any Cup Match.'[51] The adoption of this English practice of distinguishing between amateur gentlemen and working-class professionals had the effect of not only excluding many of the talented non-whites from local Cup matches, but also ensured that such persons were ineligible to be included in the 'representative' national teams.[52]

In Barbadian cricket the term 'professional' was a misnomer. Whereas in England the cricket professional emerged as a distinctly recognised speciality in the nineteenth century, in Barbados, his counterpart's relationship with the gentleman player was, as in eighteenth century England, an extension of his estate duties.[53] As G. C. Learmond noted, 'There are no pros out here of the class you get in England - that is, those capable of coaching - ours being pros only through the fact of being our ground and practice bowlers.'[54] With that kind of assessment of the West Indian 'professional', it is clear that the elite viewed them to be glorified groundsmen, oddjobbers paid to bowl, field balls and prepare the wicket.

Barbados in particular, was averse to investing in an English professional. It is possibly true that with net practice only taking place twice weekly, and local cup cricket solely dependent on patronage and not gate receipts, it would have been financially difficult. Nevertheless, Jamaica brought in a brother of George Lohmann from England; Guiana had a Mr Williams and Lees Whitehead from Yorkshire; Trinidad also employed one professional.[55] With a locally-based English regiment, the Barbadians no doubt looked forward to keep abreast of the game by learning from the soldiers, or from English public school graduates like A. Somers-Cocks. 'Professionals' were labourers, and like all labourers in Barbados, they came cheaply.

It was no wonder that a number of these players who took professionalism serious enough, turned their backs on the local clubs. Archibald Cumberbatch, former groundsman at Pickwick, had left Barbados for Trinidad where he played as a fast bowler, giving an outstanding performance with J. Woods against the Lord Hawke team in 1897. Burton was another who left Barbados around the same time and played in British Guiana. Oliver H. Layne, groundsman of Wanderers, despite being chosen to play for Barbados team against the R. A. Bennett team from England in 1902 and for the West Indian team for England in 1906, subsequently left and played for the Georgetown Cricket Club before joining a number of West Indian cricketers playing in North America.[56]

Some pros did become established regulars in the local clubs after the establishment of the local Cup Competition, but as has been indicated their terms of work were apparently inadequate. William Shepherd, one of Spartans' professionals, was instrumental in organizing a team of some of the best groundsmen in the island which played not only practice matches against the local teams, but toured as a professional side to Trinidad in 1900 and Guiana in 1904. Shepherd took a team in 1909, consisting of pros from various islands on a tour through Guiana and Trinidad. Shepherd was committed to promoting real professionalism in West Indies cricket. His Barbados team formed the nucleus of the Fenwick cricket team, one of the strongest teams organized in the island. One commentator predicted that it would beat any team in the island with the possible exception of Pickwick.[57] Some members of Pickwick, however, refused to meet this professional team on one occasion.[58]

It did not matter how much local professionals may have excelled in the sport, the Barbadian clubs adhered even more strictly than the English in supporting the canon of distinguishing and separating the gentleman and the professional. An English professional could play for a county club, but this was not the case in Barbados. It was no surprise that Barbados club cricket was plunged into crisis when a former grounds boy of the Pickwick Club applied for and gained admission to the Spartan Club in 1899. Hinds, alias 'Fitz Lilly' was born in 1880 of poor parents in a humble village of St. Michael. On leaving school only with an elementary education, he became a grounds boy at Pickwick, while on an apprenticeship to be a painter.[59] He is listed among five professional bowlers, attached to Pickwick in the 1895 to 1896 season,[60] when he would have been about fifteen years. Hinds' talent and ability did not go unnoticed and some keen observers of the game thought he would be a great asset to any national representative team, were he a member of an established club.[61] Hinds himself was ambitious to qualify to play amateur cricket and stopped bowling for money.[62] Spartan appeared to be the only club which Hinds could remotely dream of joining but he was blackballed after his nomination. It was only after some skilful club politics and the support of the vice-president, Herbert Greaves that Hinds was eventually elected to membership.

It was indeed remarkable that a nineteen-year-old black painter-groundsman, without a secondary school education or a distinguished pedigree, should be nominated to join the sporting ranks of the elite blacks and coloureds in Spartan. It may seem puzzling that Spartan should have put its position and prestige alongside the other clubs in jeopardy

by including a lower class coloured boy like Hinds. However, there is some indication that there was some growth in opinion that skilful black and coloured players in the West Indies should be given a chance to play representative cricket. Hinds himself seemed to have been **determined** to play representative cricket in Barbados, especially from the time of the 1897 tours of Hawke and Priestley[63] when professionals played for all the islands except Barbados and British Guiana. Lord Hawke was impressed with the black professionals he saw on that occasion.[64]

Response to the news of the election and selection of Hinds was swift. The Windward Cricket Club was the first to seek a ruling from the Cup Committee in August 1899. The latter declined to interfere but the Windward players refused to meet Spartan in a return match.[65] St. Hill, the captain of the Pickwick team, was forced to field a second rate side (even though the Goodmans played) after about seven members of their first eleven refused to meet a Spartan team including Hinds. It was even rumoured that fellow Spartan players had distanced themselves from Hinds during net practice.[66] Hinds ability as a first-class all-rounder was without doubt. He top-scored in his debut for Spartan and the following week in the first match against Windward, as if by poetic justice, he took five of their wickets for a mere eighteen runs.[67] His batting was also reputed to be 'correct and graceful.'[68]

The cloud of the 'Fitz Hinds Affair' hovered over local cricket for four successive seasons. Internal club politics were affected and many of the established team players refused to make themselves available. This resulted in about two-hundred different players, many only temporary, playing in the 1900-01 season. It was reported that cricket fell to an all-time low in 1901-02.[69] The Windward Club collapsed in the 1903-04 and in the following year Wanderers experienced its worse season in its twenty-eight-year history.[70] It was said that fewer members of the 'fairer sex' were attending the games and there was a growing attention paid to other spectator sports like polo.[71]

The admission of Hinds to Cup cricket was blamed for this 'crisis' in local cricket between 1899 and 1905, but this was a simplistic interpretation of matters. Hinds embodied a latent movement among black working class against their marginalization in West Indian cricket. By the late 1890s cricket in Barbados, if not throughout the British West Indies, had been appropriated as part of the popular culture of the black majority. In addition, the so-called black professionals had emerged as cricketing heroes in their own right. Charles Alleyne states that since the professionals were excluded from the Cup

Competition, crowds began to converge during weekdays to see them perform at net practice.[72] The *Bulletin* observed that '[t]he effort to boycott the so-called professionals seems only to have caused those excellent individuals to assert themselves successfully.' Thornhill and Cumberbatch, both civilian workers within the locally based British regiment, got themselves elected to the Garrison Eleven.[73]

It appeared that black professionals were also making inroads elsewhere in the region. Guiana, like Barbados had refused in the past to play black professionals, but in 1899 the Georgetown Cricket Club nominated Burton the ex-Barbados coloured professional to be a member of the team proposed to tour England in 1900.[74] The Trinidad Executive also nominated their two black professionals, S. 'Float' Woods and Cumberbatch, for the same tour. [75] Lord Hawke who had extended the invitation to the West Indians, like Pelham Warner, was keen to see black professionals in any future West Indian representative team. If the West Indians were to prove their mettle against the Mother Country, the best had to be offered. Warner thought it would have been absurd to pit a West Indian eleven without the black professionals against the first-class English county teams.[76]

Hamilton states that from the 1890s cricket in Barbados underwent 'rationalization'; standards were raised and the game became more businesslike.[77] If this was at all the case, the local white elite had little to do with it. There was a popular movement among the people for 'good' professional-like cricket. Trinidad and Guiana had apparently accepted this idea, the former playing no fewer than five black professionals against English touring teams in the 1890s. In the islands of the Windward and Leeward Islands, where creole white plantocratic elites were less entrenched, it was virtually impossible to raise a national team without blacks. It was clear too that the English touring teams appreciated the high standard of cricket displayed by blacks in the West Indies. The Barbadian cricketing elite was in a quandary; some sulkily, in the words of Goodman, 'preferred to sever their connection with the game they professed to love.'[78] The merchant-planter class who were the patrons and financiers of the sport locally, insisted that they patronized the sport primarily to see their relatives and friends at play rather than to see superb performances. Cricket as a business was not their interest.[79]

This leisurely amateurish cricket among friends and family was rejected by the fans among the black working class who increasingly organized their own matches and went out to see their emerging black cricketing heroes. Cricket matches became popular during bank

holidays from the 1890s. Printers and Tailors played a match on bank holiday in October 1899 at the recently developed Reef Grounds and on St. Stephen's pasture two gentlemen, Sealy and Downes, brought their teams to play for the day.[80] One newspaper report about the Christmas holidays of 1904 observed: '[t]here was much cricket among the peasantry, some pastures having several teams batting at the same time.'[81]

Recognition of this popular movement led to the establishment of the Frame Food Competition in early 1903, when the commercial traveller, Frederick N. Martinez, donated a 25 guinea challenge cup on behalf of the Frame Food Company.[82] Martinez was born in St. Thomas of Jewish ancestry, educated in Jamaica and spent many of his years in Panama[83]- a country to which he was appointed Barbados' first foreign consul in 1905.[84] He commenced his operations in Barbados from about the mid-1890s, and by 1899 he represented no less than thirty-two premier European firms.[85]

The Frame Food line of products were promoted as good for 'babies, invalids and athletes', and the linkage between this commodity and working class cricket was itself a recognition of the popularity of the game among the common people. Besides Martinez's good will and shrewd business sense, it is a possibility that his competition may have been welcomed by the established clubs as an outlet for the growing passion among many players, thus easing the pressure on the amateur clubs. The thirteen teams which participated in the first year were: Fenwicks, Hyde Park, Quakers, Volunteers, Sportsman's, Glenville, St. Martins, Police, Railway, W. I. Regiment and Hunters. The majority of these working class teams were from around the urban areas. The majority of the committee of the Frame Food Competition consisted of representatives of the working-class clubs, but the appointment of William Bowring to the committee illustrates the desire of Martinez and the Barbados Cup Committee, to keep careful oversight of working-class organized cricket.

Despite persistent reports of diminishing spectators attending the Cup Competition between 1899 to 1905, these black working-class clubs, forced to play on rough grounds with inadequate gear, were nonetheless attracting 'a large following.'[86] It was reported that matches involving the popular Fenwicks attracted playing, crowds of one or two thousand.[87] Similar developments were taking place or had already taken place, in the other Anglophone West Indies. Black cricketing enthusiasts saw themselves not merely as passive spectators or occasional cricket labourers. They were very conscious of their own important role in transmitting cricketing skills to the children of the white elite, even if

proper appreciation of this role was not adequately acknowledged.[88]

In 1897 one member of Lord Hawke's English touring team, Trinidad-born Pelham 'Plum' Warner, found that his record-setting 119 runs in the opening game at Trinidad was met with delight by the Trinidadians. As he returned to the pavilion, scores of black spectators rushed on to the field, and one who had bowled to him as a boy shouted: 'Mr. Pelham, I taught you, sah! You play well! We are proud of you!'[89] When he was ten years old, Pelham had been sent as a term boarder to Harrison College in Barbados, where, under Horace Deighton, the ethic of cricket was emphasised.[90] At the age of thirteen he was sent to England following the death of his father. There, at Rugby and later at Oxford, his lifelong conversion to cricket was completed. But his earliest exposure to the game was on the marble gallery of his home, where a little black boy called Killebree, bowled to him. In between terms at Harrison College, his mother paid a black oddjobber called *Booboul*, and other black boys to practise him.[91] The Trinidadian blacks were not about to let Warner forget the role they played in preparing him as a cricketer. Warner's experience was typical of many white elite boys, whose abilities were in part due to skills transferred from keen blacks cricketers, who were certainly in greater abundance than imported English games masters. Such black working class players may have been dismissed as mere cricket labourers to bowl and field, but there is little doubt that many saw themselves as masters of the game.

Blacks were therefore not passive consumers of cricket culture or merely the objects of proselytizers with an agenda for social control. By the 1890s blacks could no longer be denied access to cricket; they had by then appropriated the game and it was theirs to play and promote. The fact that working class blacks perceived themselves as legitimate possessors and transmitters of cricket culture, requires a modification to the simplistic, trickle-down, proselytizing thesis. It is not in dispute that cricket was brought into the British West Indies as part of the cultural baggage of the colonizers but what must be questioned is the view that the popularity which cricket gained among the masses is evidence of 'successful' proselytization with anglocentric values - whatever the intermittent rhetoric of elites may have suggested

For all the notions of cricket as a national unifying cultural force, the actions of the local elites in control of the game belied those claims. A few blacks may have been successful in penetrating cricket at the national and representative level, but the white and brown cricketing elites resisted the pressures from some commentators in the Mother

Country and some at home to fully open up colonial cricket competitions to black professionals. Thanks to the insistence of Lord Hawke, black professionals got a taste of representing the West Indies in England, but were still denied a place in the Inter-colonials of which the local committees were fully in charge. After the announced selection of the Barbados team to meet Trinidad in 1900, the *Bulletin* observed: 'He [Hinds] is our best all-round cricketer...He is therefore considered eligible to appear at Lord's Oval in company with the nobility of England, and yet not good enough to go to Port-of-Spain.'[92]

Indeed, the Barbados Cup Committee moved swiftly to breach the loophole in the amateur/professional rule to ensure that persons who had *ever* received money from the game would be disqualified from Cup Competition.[93] Whereas the rules governing the Inter-Colonial Competition defined 'the word "amateur" to mean one who does not receive payment in any form for cricket, and who has not done so at any time during the two years preceding the season in which he is playing', the local Cup rules were tighter. On 19 July 1903 the local rules were further clarified and stipulated: 'the word "amateur" to mean one who has not *at any time* received money or other payment for Cricket. But this rule is not to be retrospective.'[94] The retroactive waver was a small mercy extended to Hinds.

Hinds entry to club cricket was anomalous and the Spartan Club reaffirmed its elitism and colour prejudice in 1912 by a spate of blackballing of candidates who had proven themselves as schoolboy cricketers and were from respectable backgrounds, but as the *Standard* noted they were 'not sufficiently "blue-blooded" to join their ranks'.[95] One candidate who was to be rejected in this spate of blackballing was Herman Griffith, who at Combermere had proven to be an all-round athlete of excellence.[96] On leaving school Herman joined the Volunteers where he got an opportunity to play cricket but not at first class level. His blackballing led to the withdrawal from Spartan of a number of players who formed the nucleus of the Empire Club which was launched in the season of 1914-15.[97] Many of its members, like Herman who was a junior Civil Service clerk, held similar lower middle-class occupations. It took two full years before the Barbados Cup Committee, by a split majority decision, to finally accept the entry of Empire to the Cup Competition in 1916.[98] Empire widened the opportunity to play national cricket for those who were lower middle class and perhaps not sufficiently brown skin for Spartan. It was reported that Empire attracted old Combermerians while Spartan embraced the non-white who were old Harrisonians. Empire was as conscious of class as any other and for a number of years refused to admit common labourers. Empire illustrated the affection of

the black lower middle class for the ethos of British imperialism. It not only launched itself officially on Empire Day, but according to its rules the club colours were red, white and blue and the Union Jack was to be flown during cricket matches.[99]

The growth in the popularity of cricket in Barbados was as paradoxical as it was in India, where as Cashman points out, every attempt was made to exclude Indians from the sport.[100] Class snobbery and racism formed major barriers which the 'cricket missionaries' (elite school teachers, clergymen and English soldiers) did not easily surmount. Cricket was vigorously promoted in the elite schools of Barbados, but no comparable attempt was made to support it in the elementary schools where the black working class children would have a more direct access to the game. This was strikingly evident through these schools lack of playing fields. Dr Gaskin, leader of a campaign for recreational outlets for the urban working classes, observed in 1896 that whereas Harrison College, the premier school of the upper classes, was adequately endowed with a playing field, an elementary school like St. Mary's in the city with an enrollment of over one hundred, possessed only about sixteen square feet of playing ground.[101]

Such neglect was not simply confined to the urban elementary schools. Central government, as well as the local vestry authorities and the church, did virtually nothing to promote cricket at the elementary school level. Sandiford states that '[t]he success with which the cricket doctrine was disseminated by Barbadian educators could not have been achieved had it not been for the consistent and wholehearted support of the Anglican church...'[102] However this generalization requires clarification. Many Anglican clergymen were indeed enthusiastic cricketers and some like T. Lyall Speed, Charles Clarke and Dr. Dalton, promoted the game as heads of elite schools which catered to the middle and upper classes. In the working-class elementary schools, where Anglican clerics were by far in the majority as chairmen of the management committees and supervisors of teachers, one finds no hint of the clergy's wholehearted and consistent enthusiasm for spreading the gospel of cricket. Reverend Greville Chester, writing in the late 1860s observed:

> The labouring classes of Barbados are badly off for amusements. Tops and marbles seem almost the only sports of the school-children, but when encouraged they take kindly to cricket. But it is hard to find places to play in, and parochial cricket clubs are either above or below the notice of the local clergy.[103]

Little had changed by the turn of the twentieth century. The Bishop in his address to Synod in 1901 observed that, 'little beyond direct church work is done,' and the statistical report showed that a mere nine churches sponsored outdoor activity, two of which sponsored a cricket club.[104] The Governor also found this situation unacceptable at a time when concerns about delinquent youth was one of national interest.[105] Local clergy were incensed at what seemed to be charges of indolence levelled against them and given tacit support by their own head, the bishop. The response given to Canon Watson's speech at a special meeting of the Anglican clergy summed up the mood and attitude of the clergy:

> But I was not ordained to organise Cricket Clubs, (Cheers,) in order to hold the young, nor Men and Women's Institutes and Church Lad's Brigades (Applause.) That is not my work...We would, as it were, be neglecting the word of God to serve tables (Cheers)... I do not think we ought to be ashamed because we have not got Cricket Clubs. (Cheers). I do not object to them. They are very useful and helpful, and I should be well pleased if they were ladies and gentlemen in my parish to take them in hand. I would give them all encouragement, but they demand means and men and personal instrumentality which are available in England, but which are not to be had here. Cricket Clubs, Institutes, Lads Brigades and Guilds, all imply money.[106]

Canon Watson's position was an untenable excuse disguised as a reasonable explanation. Certainly, promotion of organized cricket among working class youth (as indeed cricket at any level) would have required the cooperation of the planter-merchant class which so monopolized land and economic resources. However parish priests were *ex-officio* members of the vestries which constituted local government and were charged with the upkeep of roads, chapels, and schools. The Anglican clergy failed to use their political power and influence to secure concessions of elementary school playing fields from planters. Furthermore, the argument that lay persons willing to take up church cricket schemes were not forthcoming seems rather hollow, considering that cricket had become possibly the most popular activity on the Island.

Anglican clergymen shared the same prejudices and predilections of fellow middle and upper class persons, who still doubted that any good could result from the mass *participation* of working-class blacks in organized cricket. Cricket was still perceived as a means of building character in the children of the upper sections of society, and preparing them for exercising leadership and authority. There were those who conceded that the

inclusion in the sport of a few carefully selected browns and blacks, who had learned to 'know their place,' could be a useful object lesson to the enthusiastic masses, of what harmonious social relations should be. Still, this did not eliminate the ingrained racist stereotype of the naturally 'excitable' black, whose infantilization and arrested development offered little hope for him to appreciate the amateur, high brow and manly values supposedly inherent in the game. Black working class men were not the only ones which the dominant West Indian cricket culture sought to marginalize

Women and Cricket

G. R. Bardswell, in proposing the health of the ladies at the end of the last match played by Lord Hawke's team in British Guiana, said, '..that cricket without the presence of ladies is like lamb without the mint sauce.'[107] In England, popular women's cricket was played from the mid-eighteenth century, but by the start of the Victorian period this popularity was lost as increasingly women were confined to their separate domestic sphere. Attempts were again made in the late nineteenth century to popularize and even commercialize Women's cricket.[108] Penelope Lawrence, a co-founder of Roedean School at Brighton established in 1885,[109] made a strong case for the inclusion of team sports like cricket in the curriculum of girls' school. She believed that senior girls should be exposed to 'scientific' games.[110] 'A boy or girl who plays cricket enters a world larger than his or her own narrow sphere, and is induced to care for impersonal ends beyond the immediate circle of the home or school.' It was this 'larger interest' which was equally important for girls as boys, after all cricket was not confined to a small group; it was a national sport 'a strong social bond between the mother country and the colonies, between class and class, and race and race.'[111]

It was true that by the 1890s cricket had brought together different classes, races and nationalities to play each other in the sport, but any notion of bringing men and women to play the game was indeed novel. Women's cricket was consciously kept separate from the man's game. It was rejected as desanctifying and holding up to ridicule a sport which was the symbol of a great nation. The few women tournaments which were played in the late nineteenth century were but novel diversions and not treated as 'serious' cricket. In England the 'Original English Lady Cricketers' team consisting of middle class women, attracted large crowds when they toured in 1890 but disbanded after that one season.[112]

Unlike England, there had not been any significant tradition of women's cricket in the West Indies. Women did play the occasional novelty game of cricket. For instance, in 1899 the *Weekly Recorder* reported a match between a ladies team drawn from seven families against a team of gentlemen, which ended in a victory for the latter.[113] In 1910 Miss Helen Laborde headed a cricket team of girls from Queen's College coached by Mike Mayers, but nothing is known of their exploits.[114] There were other ladies' cricket teams in other British West Indian colonies at this time. The *West India Committee Circular* carried news of the 'fair cricketers' of Trinidad, and the photograph of the Antigua and St. Kitts lady cricket teams that had recently played each other.[115] These games did not appear to go beyond a passing novelty and 'serious' cricket continued to be male dominated.

Cricket represented the epitome of manly Victorian values of aggression, courage, competition and leadership, which by 'nature' women were not supposed to possess. Their presence at the game was however necessary to validate the currency of these values in their men. Cricketers were after all chivalrous knights in white flannel, jostling with willow and ball before the 'fair sex' in the marquees and pavilions. Although cricket was not confined to the cosy domestic suburban setting as tennis was, this did not invalidate its familial codes. During the Fitz Hinds brouhaha, Goodman noted that it was not the *creme de la creme* of cricket that the local gentlemen came to see but members of family and friends.[116] In middle and upper-class family ideology the woman was the repository and protector of family values. Middle-class mothers, like their husbands, were committed to ensuring that their sons would build good character through participation in the game. Queen Victoria ensured that her son, and successor to the throne, Edward, was coached in the game at Windsor;[117] Mrs Grace, mother of W. G. Grace, was said to have placed cricket as a central ingredient in rearing her five sons[118]; and while Pelham Warner's father worried about the glass windows he shattered, his mother took responsibility for paying black Trinidadian boys to practise him.[119]

Beckles has noted recently, that women were 'required to surround the game with an aura of respectability that represented an ideological barricade designed to exclude men of other races.'[120] What was more patently obvious was the fact that organized cricket provided one of few opportunities for middle and upper-class young people to meet with the hope of finding future partners. At the long cricket matches with virtually all the elite families in attendance, Cupid's chance of success increased manifold beyond the

opportunities provided at the intimate tennis parties. The *Herald* in 1889 announced that the Wanderers Cricket Club planned to erect a Ladies' Pavilion as members of the club were convinced 'that the presence of the fair sex is conducive to the happiness of themselves and the success of the club.'[121] Percy Goodman's question was simply rhetorical, 'what is cricket without the ladies?'[122] Women may have been kept 'beyond the boundary' but certainly not beyond the cricket grounds. The cricket match was a means for the elite to demonstrate their cultural superiority as well as to consolidate themselves socially through intermarriage.

William Bowring, for example, scion of a well-established English family, arrived in the island in the 1890s, joined Wanderers and later married Violet, the eldest daughter of the merchant and member of Wanderers, D. C. Da Costa Sr in 1904. Bowring was subsequently made a director of his father-in-law's business.[123] Kenneth Graeme, son of the *nouveau riche* merchant and member of Pickwick Club, J. R. Bancroft, moved a notch higher up the social scale when he also married a daughter of D. C. Da Costa Sr. in 1906.[124] Indeed, the editions of the *Barbados Cricketer's Annual* provide many examples of the way in which the cricket milieu assisted in the consolidation of relations betwen the agro-commercial bourgeoisie and their middle class clients through marriage. Fathers-in-law, best men, officiating ministers, and spouses were often the who's who of the elite cricket clubs. It was not only the energetic young cricketers who were involved. Joseph C. Hoad, a widower and longstanding merchant member of Pickwick, got his chance to bat in another marital innings. It was reported that there were no festivities when he married the widow of A. Laurie, for both of them had previously enjoyed the pleasure of 'bowing at Hymen's Altar.'[125]

Black working-class women were also keen cricket spectators, although like their black male counterparts they were excluded spatially from the ladies' pavilions. Their confinement to the 'grounds' around the roped boundaries, at once symbolised their exclusion as bearers of Victorian feminine respectability as well as their economic marginalization. It was on the grounds that a number of black working class women plied their trade in homemade snacks and beverages.[126] It was just outside the roped boundary of the St. Vincent field that one of these women had her tray full of cakes knocked from her head by a powerful stroke by Warner.[127]

The code of amateurism which dominated both English and elite West Indian cricket was itself a metaphor of white imperial and colonial rule. Amateurism meant much more than simply not playing for pay; it signified 'fair play', 'playing in the right spirit' and the exercise of 'natural' authority. Whereas the professional sought achievement through incessant labour, practice and aspiration, the amateur exercised effortless superiority; Consequently, boasting of prowess and superiority was redundant and 'not cricket.' Pelham Warner was reminded of this at Rugby where 'swanking' was not tolerated'; excellence in games was to be matched with the same measure of modesty.[128] This ethic extended beyond the individual to the team itself and was also expected to inform spectator behaviour. Modesty in victory and magnanimity in defeat was the right spirit which the after match toasts and speeches ritualized. It was this 'fair play ' which was part of the propaganda of British Imperial rule. The cricketing crowds, like the colonized masses, were expected to appreciate the code, to be nonsectarian, giving fair applause to both sides and restraining their enthusiasm for their team.

By the late nineteenth century the amateur spirit of cricket also accommodated social-Darwinistic ideas of endless competition, warfare and the survival of the fittest.[129] These were not codes exclusive to cricket but influenced virtually every area of British imperial culture and policy. E. V. Lucas in an article in *Punch* defended the protracted and leisurely approach of cricket-playing. He wrote that it was

> an intricate and leisurely warfare, and the fact that every moment of it is equally fraught with possibilities and openings for glorious uncertainties makes peculiarly the delight of intelligent observers, none of whom find dullness in the stubborn, defending his wicket successfully against eleven opponents. First-class cricket calls for such very special gifts of temperament and skill that only the fittest survive, and all their actions are worthy study.[130]

Ex-public school boys often took similar ideas into colonial conflicts. Two of the six Challenor brothers educated at Harrison College, Robert Richard Challenor (1870-1902) and Edward Lacy Challenor (1873-1935), fought with British Regiments during the South African War. Both were keen cricketers who played for Wanderers and later for their regiments. Edward Lacy served with the Royal Leicestershire Regiment in the South African War and also in World War I. Robert was a captain in the 1st Battalion of the

Lancashire Fusiliers but unlike his younger brother did not survive the war. On the 31 March 1902 he was cut down by Boer bullets while leading an assault at Hart's River in the Transvaal. Although out-flanked and mortally wounded he fought on, and, like a good cricketer, he persisted until struck again by a fatal bullet. His last dying words were reported[131] to be a rallying cry to his beleaguered Battalion: 'Play the game!'[132]

Cricket matches throughout the British Empire were used to test the strength of the imperial bonds and in this respect it became essential to ascertain to what extent English colonials retained their Englishness, or whether they had succumbed to tropical 'deterioration.' Mandle points out that during the cricket clashes between England and Australia, competency in the sport provided a test as to whether the Australian-born Englishman had degenerated physically or culturally.[133] The West Indians came to be tested in the crucible of imperial cricket culture a couple of decades after the Australians.

The first English cricket team to visit the British West Indies was an amateur one under the captaincy of Slade Lucas which toured between January and April 1895. Dr R. B. Anderson, an Englishman who had made Tobago his home, had taken the initiative to encourage this first tour. With the assistance of Lord Stamford, Lord Hawke and Mr. Neville Lubbock, the Royal Mail Company agreed to make a concession to the team, while the secretaries of the MCC gave support to the tour.[134] One local commentator hoped that the contact between the English and the West Indian teams would result in mutual respect and go some way towards broadening the narrow view held by the English about West Indians.[135] As late as 1923, in a speech in Belfast, H. B. G. Austin expressed his hope that the current West Indian Tour of Britain would illustrate the worth of the West Indies and that the region did not wish to lose its imperial privileges and birthright.[136]

It certainly was 'imperial privileges' that were on the mind of West Indians during that first English tour in 1895. That year was a critical one for the West Indies as sugar prices had plummeted to an all-time low of ten shillings per hundredweight and all hopes were set on Joseph Chamberlain, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, to rescue the beleaguered West Indian economies. The fact was not lost on the colonials that having a touring English team in the West Indies at such a time could assist in drawing British attention their way. A perceptive Barbadian journalist was optimistic that the tour had the potential to draw the Mother Country and the West Indies together while promoting 'material profitableness.'[137] Barbadians were not 'flanneled fools'. The mercantile community took the unprecedented action of closing their businesses for five days over a

two week period for the Slade Lucas' tour, but the *Herald* noted that the *quid pro quo* should be the generation of sympathy for the West Indies plight, even if Britain could not persuaded to reintroduce protectionism for the West Indies.[138] Following the end of Lord Hawke's tour of Trinidad in 1897 a writer for the *Port of Spain Gazette* stated:

> We are very much mistaken if the colony does not reap in another way substantial benefit from their apparent trifling incident...but the members of Lord Hawke's Team, many of whom are men of influence, will not soon forget and we are sure will be glad to serve a country where they met with honourable defeat.[139]

It was this line of thought which lay behind the establishment of the London-based West Indian Club in May 1898. In the main membership of this club was drawn from the membership of the West India Committee. Its membership therefore consisted largely of persons who had substantial economic interests in the British West Indies. They included for instance, the Earl of Harewood who owned four estates totalling 1,566 acres in Barbados, the Lubbocks whose Colonial Company owned the largest central factory in Trinidad, as well as controlled a significant share of Guiana's sugar trade.[140] Others like R. Rutherford and Wallyn Poyer B. Shepheard who sat on the club's executive, were attorneys for absentee owners.[141] In 1899 fourteen of the sixty-two colonials were from Barbados, and by the end of 1914 the Barbados membership stood at forty-seven. These included the traditional elite like the Austins, D. C. Dacosta, Robert Challenor, the Hon. G. L. Pile, Governor Probyn, the Colonial Secretary, and the Bishop of the Anglican Church.[142]

Unlike the West India Committee however, the aim of the Club was to be a forum for coordinated action of a 'non-political' nature. Instead of lobbying in the corridors of the Commons and the Colonial Office, the Club had as its objective the organization of 'cricket matches and other kindred amusements recognised by our English Universities and Public Schools.'[143] It was not a commitment to the civilizing mission which lay at the heart of this objective but an attempt to exploit the growth in sporting interests as a means of drawing attention to their part of the Empire. One politician in a speech at Lords in 1887, was reported to be of the view that, 'whatever the political situation, the first thing he looked at in *The Times* every morning was the cricket news.'[144] The growth in sports coverage by the late nineteenth century, coupled with the spread of the telegraph, brought sports news (local and international) to the British public. Cricket enjoyed pride of place

in the press and the exploits of English cricketers overseas constituted major news stories. One cricket journalist in Barbados, expressed his disgust when the Telegraph Company failed to wire the scores in the match between Ranjitsinji's Team and All New York.[145] About the same time a report extracted from the *Port-of -Spain Gazette* stated that the English were taking cricket in the region seriously, and major London papers had arranged to report on the Intercolonial matches.[146] Given the popularity of cricket, the scores from a match in the West Indies involving English players were likely to be of more interest than news of the latest plunge in sugar prices.

An article in the *Country Gentlemen* quoted at length by the *Barbados Agricultural Reporter* summed up the value of imperial cricket contact as the colonial elites would also have seen it:

> The West Indies have long regarded themselves as the Cinderella of the Imperial system, and are the only section which to-day murmurs a suggestion of breaking away - The band of young English amateurs will afford a capital object lesson in the superiority of the public-school type. They not only play the game in the proper spirit, but they are trying to get at the core of the local problems; and as several of them will certainly become members of Parliament, they will bring back a knowledge obtained at first hand of the serious difficulties which beset the planters, whilst they will spread the feeling of fraternity which is so admirable a feature of recent Imperialism.[147]

Whether English cricketers on tour in the West Indies became any more sympathetic to the economic plight of the West Indies is difficult to judge. There is no doubt though that the West Indies gained useful publicity in English papers on such occasions. The existence of the telegraph enabled scores to be relayed every hour to an eager public, including 'the man on the street.'[148]

In the same way cricket served as an arena to test whether the Anglo-Creoles had suffered tropical degeneracy, it was also used to test the 'improvement' of the African-Creole. Lord Hawke came away from his tour of the West Indies very much impressed with the cricketing skills of the the black professional bowlers, S. Woods and A. Cumberbatch, on the Trinidad side, and Olliviere of St. Vincent. Barbados and British Guiana did not field professionals at this stage.[149] Hawke extended an invitation to the West Indies in 1899, indicating that '...naturally great interest would centre in the work of the coloured players.'[150] Of all the territories nominating players for this representative team, Barbados was reported to be the most reluctant to select a professional. This was

at the very time when Hinds' entry into local cricket had created a furore. Despite some initial objections he was included, but there were still rumours that some of the local influential financiers had threatened not to subscribe to the fund, if Hinds was included.[151]

London-based members of the West Indian Club contributed £430 pounds in subscriptions, or just over one third of the £1,255 which the tour received. Barbados was one of the territories which chose to make contributions to individual players, instead of to the common fund as had been agreed.[152] The financial success of the tour was never the major motivation behind the tour in the first place. Rather, bringing a mixed team of white amateurs and black professionals to the Mother Country, was expected to heighten the publicity about the West Indies in England as well as serve as an illustration of the social and political stability in the West Indian colonies.

The West Indian Team which landed at Southampton on 5 June 1900 under the captaincy of R. S. Aucher Warner, consisted of representatives from Barbados, Trinidad, Demerara (British Guiana), Jamaica, and one each from Grenada and St. Vincent. Among these were five black players: Fitz Hinds, Lebrun Constantine, Charles Augustus Ollivierre, S. Woods and W. J. Burton, and the coloured player George Cyril Learmond. As Hawke had predicted all eyes were trained on the non-white players, and the team was represented in some sections of the British press as a 'black team.' Warner's *Cricket in Many Climes* was released just ahead of the tour, and in it he lauded the black professionals of the West Indies as excellent players worthy of inclusion in any county team, and indispensable to any West Indian test team.[153] Those associated with the promotion of the tour were keen to inform the British public that the tourists were not there to compete as cricketing equals but to learn at the feet of their acknowledged masters. Following a poor performance in their first match at Crystal Palace against W. G. Grace's London County Cricket Team, and their second match against Worcester, the *Sunday Times* remarked:

> but certainly their first week in the country has afforded nothing to disprove the modest assertion that they have come to learn all they can. There is no better school than that in which first-class matches are the lessons set, and I hope that before long we shall be able to remark upon the aptness of the pupil.[154]

The 'modest assertions' of the West Indians seemed to have slipped the attention of some sections of the British press and public. In offering their postmortem at the end

of the tour in mid-August 1900, a number of newspapers and journals referred to the 'wrong impression of the object of the tour' held by some of the English.[155] The West Indians, observed *Cricket*, 'had never been under a wrong impression about the objects of the tour. They came to learn, and did not expect to win, although they hoped that by good luck they might be successful once or twice.'[156] *The Field* noted that 'it was somewhat unfortunate that they were heralded as the equals of all but a few of the strongest of the county elevens.'[157] Partial blame was attributed to comments made by Pelham Warner in praise of the West Indies ahead of the tour.[158] If this was indeed the case it would have been a *faux paus*, and a slight lapse in 'the right spirit of the game.' A little deference and humility was always expected towards the opposition, and was even more expected from a West Indian team with blacks included.

Before the first game commenced some British newspapers began to engage in humour at the expense of the black players. The *Daily Mail* reported a funny story about the black bowler, Woods of Trinidad, which was supposed to have taken place ahead of the Lord Hawke's Tour of 1897. Aucher Warner was reported to have said to Woods: 'Now remember, you must wear boots when you play against the English cricketers,' to which Woods replied, 'Me sah; but how am I to get a grip with my toes?' When the match took place Woods reportedly appeared 'in a pair of tennis shoes, the soles of which were cut clean out!' The *Mail* cautioned: 'when Woods plays at Lord's the spectators around the ring and in the pavilion must not be surprised if he takes off his boots and hands them to the umpire!'[159]

After the West Indians ignominious defeat at the hands of Dr. Grace and his London County team at Crystal Palace, the popular Cricket Edition of *The Evening News* of Tuesday 12 June, 1900 carried a cartoon: 'W. G. Grace and Jerry Mason: Eddikatin De Coons,' in which Grace and Mason totally dominate a field of six blacks led by the Warner brothers. Its racist content was clear despite the equally contemptuous claims of *Cricket* that 'members of the team - more especially the coloured ones - bought up all the copies on which they could lay their hands, for the cartoon expressed their feelings to a nicety.'[160] On Saturday 23 June *The Evening News* carried another cartoon commenting on the shades of colour of the West Indian bowlers and the ability of the English batsmen to see them. Some press reports dismissed the West Indies Team as 'no good' and a few newspapers stopped reporting the matches.[161] The games attracted low attendance and for the entire tour of seventeen matches total gate receipts were £719. 2s. 9d.[162] Of

course depressed economic conditions kept many away coupled with the fact that reports from the South African War stole the headlines from cricket. Still, for organizers, players and for most sections of the press which covered the tour it was a success - that is provided it was seen as a 'learning experience' and not a challenge by equals.

Figure 7.1. West Indies vs. London County Cricket Club at Crystal Palace, June 1900

Source: The Evening News, Tuesday, 12 June 1900, 2.

The tourists all demonstrated that they could play in the 'right spirit'. This did not mean that there were not some worrying moments when the West Indians appeared close to failing the claims to civilization. For example, in the early matches, the newspapers reported that the coloured players showed some indolence by refusing to chase balls that seem assured of reaching the boundary. This did not continue and it was excused on the basis that they were accustomed to the hard 'fast pitches' in the West Indies when such strokes invariably reached the boundary.[163] During the game played at Bristol against

Gloucestershire Gilbert Jessop, an outstanding batsman of the club, despatched the West Indian bowling for 157 runs in an hour. In one over he hit six fours and the black players reportedly sat upon the ground, shouting with laughter at their bowlers' discomfiture.[164]

The fact that none of the last seven matches were lost by the West Indians, confirmed the view that following the initial string of losses they were indeed benefitting from their tutelage. Speech after speech given at a Banquet hosted by the West Indian Club on 13 August, 1900, resonated with themes of success. They played the game 'in thorough sportsman-like spirit with 'an evident anxiety to learn' and 'in the very best spirit.'[165] The accomplishment of putting together a cooperative team from various islands and consisting of black and whites, demonstrated that cricket was indeed creating the social cohesion necessary for the material success of the depressed British West Indies. Sir Neville Lubbock of the Colonial Company, on one of his visits to their estates in British Guiana, had witnessed little 'coolie' boys from India and little boys of African descent playing cricket on the furrows. For him this illustrated that the hands of fellowship extended by the English were being grasped by the coloured races of the world.[166] Unquestionably, the West Indies were thought to be insolubly bound by the game in the connective web of Empire.[167] Cricket, according to Lord Stamford, had made its contribution to diffusing potential racial conflict, making the task of Imperial statecraft more easy - and it was a pity the United States had failed where the British succeeded![168]

Similar sentiments were shared by their counterparts in the islands who felt that they too could teach a few lessons of their own to the Empire through cricket. Responding to an article in the London *Times* concerning the 1906 mixed West Indian Team to Britain, the *Weekly Recorder* pointed out that 'a West Indian eleven is a valuable object lesson to the rest of the Empire, proving incontestably that we have solved racial problems that seem insoluble to people in other parts of the Empire.'[169] A few years later, a columnist of the same newspaper argued: 'Cricket is a potent civilizer, and it will do more to reconcile the subject races of the Empire to British rule than any other influence I see at work... I wished some American cricketers were present to note how cricket had eliminated the colour line in the West Indies, so far as that noble game is concerned.'[170] Stoddart has argued perceptively that '[w]ith the emerging popularity of cricket arose illusions of social unity which suggested the game transcended normal divisions of colour, class and status, even though it clearly preserved careful social distances within its organizational structures.'[171]

Some cricketers, especially the few black professionals who got the opportunity to represent the West Indies in Britain in the summer 1900 and again in 1906, came to embody the hopes and aspirations of hundreds of young West Indian men. To be dined at the Surrey Cricket Club, to appear against the MCC at Lords, to meet the indefatigable 'W.G.', must have been staggering indeed. Of course the blacks met racial taunts, such as that from a little urchin who shouted at a member of the team while touring London, 'Hi, Darkey, was you born in a coffee-pot?'[172] Racism notwithstanding, cricket provided opportunities that seemed to offer hope of transcending that barrier. The same black player felt such a sense of pride and achievement when he found himself sitting to tea opposite Sir Benjamin Store while on a tour of Parliament, that he mused: 'Oh, if only my poor old mother could see me now.'[173]

English players who toured the West Indies were often staggered by the depth of enthusiasm which all social sections of these little islands shared for the game. The R. S. Lucas' team were surprised to encounter 'the admiring gaze of a struggling mass of black humanity' when they entered port at Bridgetown at 7.00 am on 28 January 1895. People were everywhere, even on the rooftops, to welcome the English.[174] It was nothing short of amazing that although denied full participation in the game Barbadians should be so enthusiastic about it. The Kensington Ground was packed with six thousand paying patrons, while outside hundreds more peered through the erected fence, cutting holes in it to improve their view while others resorted to the vantage positions of trees and rooftops.[175] At the end of the match thousands of blacks stood before the pavilion singing 'God Save the Queen!'[176]

Lord Hawke, also was overwhelmed and even embarrassed by the sensation which he attracted when he captained an 1897 cricketing tour of the region. He was greeted in some places by cries of: 'De Lard, de Lard, look at de Lard!'[177] It is interesting that he, the very symbolic embodiment of imperial patronage and power, was the prime target of the black West Indian bowlers. Cumberbatch, bowling for Trinidad, dismissed Lord Hawke for a duck during the first match. At St. Vincent before a crowd of about four thousand, C. A. Ollivierre, the black bowling star of that island, knocked Lord Hawke's middle stump into the air for another duck. Ollivierre somersaulted, while both the umpires and fielders shook hands and the crowd erupted into a frenzy.[178] In the next game the crowd screamed: 'Give de Lard another duck. Give him another!'[179]

One English player reported that during the 1895 tour of the Slade Lucas' team,

a conversation was overhead in Barbados which went: 'I am sanguine, Sir, that we shall yet propel our flag amongst the nations as the Colony which has humbled its mother.'[180] During the Barbados leg Lord Hawke tour many black Barbadians heralded the tourists on their way to the cricket ground: 'Lord Hawke, Lord Hawke, and England for ever!'[181] One of these, a popular personality called 'Brittania Bill' who was described by Lord Hawke as a 'gigantic black,' carried around a Union Jack on a huge bamboo pole and shouted intermittently, 'England for ever!'[182] Such apparent adulation appeared sycophantic and for Stoddart illustrates the extent to which the English civic codes accompanying cricket had been successfully transmitted to Barbadians. 'Brittania Bill' was one in a series of 'cricket characters' who emerged from the late nineteenth century. Flannigan, another 'character' adored the outstanding Wanderers and Barbados batsman, George Challenor and became the faithful 'mascot' of the Barbados team.

Such 'characters' deserve a closer 'serious' study. Maybe they did indeed embody near sycophantic devotion to white imperial and colonial power, but that explanation alone is inadequate. In the case of 'Brittania Bill' in 1897, the style in which he supported England was peculiar but, as has been pointed out many others shouted support for the English. Similar enthusiasm for the English was expressed by blacks in British Guiana following their second successive defeat over the local team.[183] It is very significant that Barbados and Guiana were the two exceptional territories that refused to include blacks to meet the English touring team on this occasion.

Richard Burton in an article entitled, 'Cricket, Carnival and Street Culture in the Caribbean,' has demonstrated that cricket in the West Indies was creolized by blacks, and came to share the cultural codes of male working-class street culture. The whole ambience of the game was transformed by spectator jesting, joking, clowning and bodily bravado.[184] In this carnivalesque milieu, ritual subversion, satire, grandiloquence, and double entendre were all played out. It was more this context which explains the West Indian 'cricket character', than the 'Afro-Saxon' one which Stoddart's analysis implies.

It was the transformation of West Indian cricket by Afro-Creole cultural codes which accounts for its peculiarity. The differences between English and West Indian spectators were immediately apparent to the English who visited. A. F. Somerset, an English player who toured the West Indies in 1905 and 1911 observed:

> The spectators are in a state of excitement unknown in England. Every scoring stroke is applauded, and is mentioned in the newspapers, and a good

> ball stopped is greeted with shouts of "Played!" all round the ground. A "yorker" chopped evokes a yell which is not given for a ball hit over the ropes in England. When that comes off, some of the spectators spring over the ropes, throw their hats and umbrellas in the air, perform fantastic dances, and occasionally some of them are arrested by the Police and held until they promise to quiet down.[185]

The behaviour of West Indian crowds was in almost all cases perceived as the harmless play of blacks, which enhanced the entertaining flavour of the game. It must have been reassuring to those wielding imperial and colonial power to discover that these spectators appeared to have accepted the notion of 'fair play,' giving applause and encouragement to local and visiting teams alike.[186] It seemed that the black majority mastered the codes and rituals of the sport, bringing an intense enthusiastic support but with 'evident impartiality.'[187] Learmond said that the Barbados crowds were perhaps the 'keenest and most appreciative' before which he played. 'They do know a good stroke and are fairly impartial, and the threepenny enclosure contains many a sound critic of the game.'[188]

The West Indian players themselves were praised in the way they 'played in the right spirit,' and with a 'chivalrous feeling,' as in the case when they warned the Englishmen of the quick-failing light which occurs in the islands.[189] On the basis of such evidence it seems that both West Indian players and crowds accepted the British cultural model exemplified in cricket and all that it entailed; including acceptance of exclusive social distinctions, implicit faith in the fairness, magnanimity and openness of the British colonial structure and a commitment to preserve it. But that kind of cultural hegemony was not so simple. Stoddart seems to think that the only major modification of imperial cricket ideology was the 'animated behaviour' of the crowds, but besides this the hegemonic agenda was unhindered.[190]

If crowd behaviour was the area in which black West Indians distinguished themselves, perhaps it is that 'animated behaviour' which requires a reassessment. Whereas for Stoddart the cricket scene represents a drama of hegemonic consensus, Orlando Patterson argues that West Indian cricket is 'a social drama in which almost all the basic tensions and conflicts within the society are played out symbolically.'[191] Patterson does acknowledge that cricket mediates and canalizes conflict, but that the drama of conflict at times ceases to be symbolic ritual and becomes the real thing. Of course, he has to conclude that given the social conditions which cricket mediated it is to be wondered why there were not more cricket riots.[192]

As for most social and cultural analyses, the conflict versus consensus dichotomy represents extreme polar positions which fail to grasp the dynamic process of resistance, accommodation, and for that matter confusion. C. L. R. James in his powerful treatise *Beyond a Boundary,* paints a picture of a cricket match as a drama of conflict in which individuals representing social groups engage.[193] Yet, unlike Patterson, James does not view cricket as '... the game deep down which we must hate -'.[194] Neither does it follow that because West Indians took to cricket passionately, they accepted the social inequality which the imperial game symbolically entrenched. As James notes, 'I haven't the slightest doubt that the clash of race, caste and class did not retard but stimulated West Indian cricket. I am equally certain that in those years social and political passions, denied normal outlets, expressed themselves so fiercely in cricket (and other games)...'[195]

West Indian spectators, as James notes, offered stinging criticisms of the elite school boys, and the gentlemen players of both local and English touring teams who may have breached the codes of 'fair play.'[196] However, West Indian masses cared little about applying the codes to their own behaviour as spectators. 'They stamped and yelled and expressed themselves fully in anger and joy then, as they do to this day, whether they are in Bridgetown or Birmingham.'[197] A consensus existed about what constituted 'good cricket' but by refusing to apply the code of restraint as spectators they reaffirmed the distinctions between the respectable and the rough, street culture and domestic respectability. But this separation, both cultural and spatial, at once heightened the sense of difference as well as helping to create a sense of solidarity. The 'grounds' became arenas for the carnivalesque of 'cricket characters' as well as politicised spaces where nationalistic tensions were likely to be played out.

Indeed, the breaking of cricket codes by spectators almost invariably occurred against a political background. Breaches of the barrier between the crowd and the pitch were symbolic breaches of the social and political order. Following a 'hissing' incident involving Barbadians against a Trinidad team during the 1908-09 Intercolonial series, Percy Goodman was quick to assure the Trinidadians that the deplorable behaviour came from the 'helplessly ignorant' sections of the crowd, and not from the gentlemen of Barbados.[198] However, the 'rough' sections of the crowds were not always held solely responsible for every lapse in the cricket code. During the 1896-97 cricket season Spartan cricketers stood accused of taking their internal club politics on to the field by bowling wides, no balls and allowing catches to drop.[199] L. Archer of Pickwick was accused of

bowling over the heads of Wanderers' batsmen, only to be defended by G. O' D Walton who argued that cricket was like war where 'there is no mercy or quarter till you have won.'[200]

Nationalistic tensions were also occasions when breach of cricket codes occurred. The *Herald* newspaper interpreted the rejection of a Barbadian umpire's decision in a game between Demerara and Barbados and the hissing which followed, as evidence that the 'large colonies such as Trinidad and Demerara have no great love for us.'[201] During the game, Browne, the Barbados umpire, responded to the appeal by Goodman, the Barbados bowler by giving a leg-before-wicket decision against Dare of Demerara. Dare gestured to the spectators that the ball had struck his hand and not his pad, following which the crowd shouted among other things to the umpire, 'unfair,' 'coward', 'dog!' What seemed even more shocking in the same match, was the hissing of the Barbadian batsman, Cole, by a party of Demerara *ladies*; a breech of etiquette said to be impossible for the ladies and gentlemen of Barbados.[202] According to reports received from Guianese newspapers, members of the Barbados team were partly to blame by bragging of their supremacy, and Barbadians resident in Guiana had boasted of their country's superiority.[203]

Nationalistic and even racial consciousness also erupted in at least one game between a touring English Team and a West Indian side during the visit of Lord Brackley's team in 1905. It all seemed to have started with the match at St. Vincent where E. C. Wynward, the English captain, complained *inter alia* of the 'shilly-shallying policy of the local committee' and the 'malpractice' and 'incompetence' of the West Indian umpires.[204] In addition, an alleged off-the-field act of rudeness by the black St. Vincent sensation, R. Olliviere, resulted in Lord Brackley's decision to inform the Queen's Park Cricket Club, hosts of the following match at Trinidad, of his teams decision not to meet a West Indian side including Ollivierre. Warner of Trinidad convinced Lord Brackley to drop his objections as an act of conciliation, especially since West Indian newspapers had stirred-up nationalistic sentiments on the events. In the last matches in Trinidad umpires selected by the English team were in place, but these umpires as well as the players were met with perpetual 'barracking' and verbal abuse.[205]

The Trinidad crowd felt incensed. Not only had Harrigan, the Queen's park Club captain, allowed Lord Brackley to have *both* his umpires officiate over two succeeding games, but these umpires had given a number of LBW decisions against the Trinidadians which were thought to be partial and unfair.[206] It was also a good opportunity to remind

the Queen's Park Cricket Club that the time to surrender its virtual monopoly of the organization of Trinidad cricket was long overdue.[207] West Indian cricketers were absolved generally from blame in such incidents. In the 'St. Vincent Affair', American-style sensational journalism was blamed for arousing the 'excitability' of the black population. Racial stereotypes prevailed as black crowd behaviour was both excused as ignorant, and denied a rational political interpretation of purpose and social objective. Somerset's advice on umpiring in the West Indies reflects the representative view of English and colonial white elites: '...and with the crowds so excitable by nature, and so keen on cricket as those in the West Indies, might I suggest to the Press the advisability of making no criticism of the umpiring till after the match is over.'[208]

The notion of 'us and them' in colonial cricket, the separate club spheres of blacks, browns and whites and the class distinctions embraced in a national game suffused with codes of unity and 'fair play,' served but to expose the contradictions which were the very bases for white colonial domination. C. L. R. James' own experience in later years is an eloquent testimony of the point being made: 'My Puritan soul burnt with indignation at the injustice in the sphere of sport... Cricket had plunged me into politics long before I was aware of it.'[209] It may be as Stoddard has suggested, that 'most Barbadians pledged their faith in a social system predicated upon British cultural codes, British behavioural standards and British attitudes towards social rankings'[210] The acceptance of this framework provided a 'consensus,' a common language, indeed for many the only arena within which to engage the system itself. Hegemony is never finally achieved, it has to be constantly 'negotiated' and the occasional fracture of the behavioural codes demonstrated an underlying counterhegemony. Not only were ruling elites capable of manipulating cultural symbols for the oppression of the subject classes, but the latter were equally adept at reinterpreting those symbols. The cricketing elite failed on numerous occasion to uphold the very idealized behavioural codes of the game, and such occasions provided opportunities for the people to challenge the moral and cultural authority upon which ruling-class power was partly based. Class snobbery, racial injustice and inequality was 'not cricket' and therefore the game was transformed progressively from below, from a mechanism of oppression to a symbol of resistance and freedom. Evidence of this may have appeared more clearly in the post-war period, but the process had long been under way from the late nineteenth century.

Chapter 7

1. John Wickham, 'The Great Originator,' *New Bajan*, 33; *Idem*, 'The First 100 Years: A Salute to Wanderers' Cricket Club,' *Bajan*, (July 1977), 45 quoting Herman Griffith of the Empire Club.

2. For an endorsement of the hegemonic thesis in the case of Barbados cricket, see Brian Stoddart, 'Cricket and Colonialism in the English-Speaking Caribbean to 1914: Towards a Cultural Analysis,' in J. A. Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), 231-57; idem., 'Cricket, Social Formation and Cultural Continuity in Barbados: A Preliminary Ethnohistory,' *Journal of Sport History* 14:3 (Winter 1987), 317-40; Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'Cricket and the Barbadian Society,' *Canadian Journal of History/ Canadiennes d' Histoire* 21 (Dec., 1986), 353-70.

3. Stoddart, 'Cricket, Social Formation and Cultural Continuity in Barbados,' 321-22.

4. Richard Cashman, 'Cricket and Colonialism: Colonial Hegemony and Indigenous Subversion?' in J. A. Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism*, 258-72.

5. Hamilton, *Cricket in Barbados*, 18-22.

6. Ibid. 19.

7. E. Dalyrmple Laborde, 'A Short Survey of Cricket at the Lodge School,' *Barbados Cricketers' Annual* (hereafter BCA) 1908-09, 124.

8. R. H. Smith, 'Reminiscences of Lodge Cricket in 1891,' LSR, 57 (1968), 100.

9. Ibid. 100.

10. W. C. Dunlop, 'From the History of the Lodge School Games' Club,' LSR 1, 12.

11. Harrison College Minutes of the Governing Body: 22 July 1895; 17 Aug. 1896, in BPL.

12. Hoyos, 'Arthur Somers Cocks' *Our Common Heritage*, 99-103.

13. 'West Indian Cricket and Cricketers,' *Cricket*, Sat., 15 Feb. 1913, 43.

14. Sandiford and Stoddart, 'Elite Schools and Cricket in Barbados,' 338-39.

15. Combermere School Minutes of the Governing Body, 5 June 1903, fol. 18; 16 Jan. 1911, fol. 89.

16. CSM 6:3, Third Term 1918-19,14

17. John Wickham, 'Herman', *West Indies Cricket Annual*, 1980, 13.

18. E. Dalyrmple Laborde, 'Public School Cricket,' BCA 1910-11, 111.

19. Ibid., 112-13.

20. 'Cricket in 1911-12,' BCA 1911-12, 86.

21. See for example, *Agricultural Reporter*, Sat., 23 Jan. 1904.

22. *Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, Tues., 4 Sept. 1877. For a commemorative history of the club, see, *Wanderers Cricket Club Centenary, 1877-1977* (Bridgetown: 1977).

23. G. F. Sharp and C. A. L. Gale, eds. *The Barbados Year Book and Who's Who 1933-34.* (Bridgetown: Advocate Press, 1934), viii-ix; Hoyos, *Some Eminent Contemporaries*, 40-4; J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* pt. II Vol II (Cambridge: CUP, 1944), 8.

24. Sinckler, *Barbados Handbook, 1914*, 106-07.

25. *Colonial Office List* (hereafter COL) 1901, 69; COL 1910, 89.

26. CO 321/44, no 103 Carrington to the Earl of Kimberley 30 June 1881 encl in Robinson to the Earl of Kimberley 2 July 1881.

27. *Wanderers Cricket Club Centenary,* 66-8.

28. C. A. Bartlett, *Further "Links with the Past"*(Barbados: 1927), 17-8.

29. Ibid.

30. Hamilton, *Cricket in Barbados*, 27.

31. J. M. Woodroofe, 'A Brief History of the Pickwick C. C.,' BCA 1907-08, 64.

32. Ibid.

33. See, Anciaux and Bowen, *Barbados Business & General Directory for 1887*, 67; Ellis, *Barbados Handbook and Directory, 1888*, 110.

34. CO 28/257, encl no 1 in Hodgson to Chamberlain 8 April 1902, confidential; COL 1909, 89.

35. J. N. P., 'Mr. C. E. Goodman,' *Cricket*, 29 April, 1911, 98.

36. For biographical details and early acting appointments, see, CO 28/258 no 215 Hodgson to Chamberlain, 9 Oct 1902.

37. For biographical details, see, Sidney Lee, ed. *Dictionary of National Biography: Twentieth Century, 1901-1911* (Oxford: OUP, 1958), 173; Hoyos, *Builders of Barbados*, 69-75.

38. CO 28/256, CO minutes on no 38, Hodgson to Chamberlain 26 Feb 1902.

39. COL 1890, 26; Sharpe and Gale, *Barbados Year Book*, xvi; J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* pt II vol. IV (Cambridge: CUP, 1951), 244.

40. CO 28/ 256, encl no 2 in Hodgson to Chamberlain, 14 Jan 1902 confidential.

41. Sharp and Gale, *The Barbados Year Book*, vii.

42. For biographical details of F. G. Knight, the 'colored gentleman,' see, CO 28/266, no 38, Lees to Knutford, 1889 and for Harry Massiah Seon, Sharp and Gale, *Barbados Year Book*, xix.

43. CO 28/226, Henry S. Seon to Lord Knutford encl in no 79 Lees to Lord Knutford, 9 May 1889.

44. CO 28/256, encl no 1 in Hodgson to Chamberlain 13 Jan 1902 confidential.

45. See, C. W. Wickham, *Pen and Ink Sketches by a Gentleman with a Fountain Pen* (Bridgetown: Herald, 1921),7-8; Hoyos, *Builders of Barbados*, 90-7

46. P. A. Goodman, 'My Cricket Memories,' *Advocate, Tercentenary Christmas Number 1627-1927*, 17.

47. See BCA 1895-96.

48. Ibid., 109.

49. BCA 1896-97, 104; BCA 1903-04, 46; Minutes of the Lodge School Board of Governors, Friday, 8 June 1906, in BDA.

50. Information drawn from annual list of club members in the BCA. Leeward like Windward seemed also to have 'borrowed' members from other established clubs.

51. 'Additional Rules' passed at Representative of Clubs meeting at Bridgetown 24 June 1893, Rule 12, BCA 1895-96, 15.

52. For discussions of the role of the professional in English cricket, see, W. F. Mandle, 'The Professional Cricketer in England in the Ninteenth Century,' *Labour History* 23 (November, 1972), 1-16; and Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'Amateurs and Professionals in Victorian County Cricket,' *Albion* 15: 1 (Spring 1983), 32-51.

53. See, W. F. Mandle, 'Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria,' *Historical Studies* 15: 60 (April 1973), 528.

54. 'Chats on the Cricket Field,' *Cricket* 25 March 1909, 33.

55. Ibid., 33-4.

56. 'West Indian Cricket and Cricketers,' *Cricket*, 15 Feb. 1913, 43; 'West Indians Abroad,' *Cricket*, 15 March 1913, 84.

57. *Weekly Recorder* Sat., 21 July 1900, 6.

58. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 1 Sept. 1900, 5.

59. C. Burton, ed., *100 Years of Organised Cricket in Barbados, 1892-1992* (Bridgetown: 1992), 86.

60. BCA 1895-6, 189.

61. 'History of the Hub-Bub,' *Bulletin*, 2 Oct. 1899,11. This account reproduced from a letter sent by a Barbadian to the Demerara *Argosy* is an invaluable source concerning the ''Fitzy Lilly' Affair.'

62. Ibid., Hinds appears for the last time in the BCA 1897-8 among the list of groundsmen for Pickwick.

63. 'History of the Hub-Bub,' *Bulletin*, 2 Oct. 1899, 11.

64. Hawke, who had taken over as captain of Yorkshire Cricket Club in the mid 1890s, had gained a reputation for his efforts to improve the lot of professionals in his club by introducing among other things, winter pay. See, Mandle, 'The Professional Cricketer' 13, and Sandiford, 'Amateurs and Professionals,' 48.

65. See, following reports in the *Bulletin* of 1899: 'History of the Hub-Bub,' 2 Oct. 11; 'Cricket,' 2 Sept. 16 and letters between H. M. Cummins, Secretary of Spartan and B. G. Outram, Honorary Secretary of Windward printed in *Bulletin*, 9 Dec. 1899.

66. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat. 26 Aug 1899, 5.

67. *Weekly Recorder* Sat., 17 Aug. 1899, 4; Sat., 19 Aug. 1899, 4. Just a few hours before the game started between Spartan and Windward at the Belleville ground, the captain of Windward sent a letter of objection against Hinds to the Cup Committee without the knowledge of the captain of Spartan. See, Cummins to Outram in *Bulletin* 9 Dec.1899, 14.

68. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 20 Jan 1900, 8.

69. 'Cricket in 1900-01,' BCA 1900-01, 77; 'Cricket in 1901-01,' BCA 1901-02, 48-50.

70. BCA 1904-05, 108-09.

71. P. A. Goodman, 'Cricket in Barbados,' BCA 1903-04, 54.

72. Charles Alleyne, 'Club Supporters and Professionals,' in *Burton*, ed., *100 Years*, 36-7

73. 'The Cricket Averages,' *Bulletin*, 19 Oct. 1899, 8.

74. 'Professional Must Go,' *Bulletin* 21 Oct. 1899, 8.

75. Ibid.

76. P. F. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes* (London: Heinemann, 1900), 8.

77. Hamilton, *Cricket in Barbados*, 39.

78. BCA 1903-04, 55.

79. Ibid., 56-7.

80. 'Bank Holiday Cricket', *Bulletin,* 11 Oct. 1899, 8.

81. *Agricultural Reporter*, 2 Jan. 1904, 4.

82. *Weekly Recorder,* Sat., 30 May 1903, 6.

83. 'Generalities,' *Times*, Wed., 28 March 1895.

84. *Colonial Office List*, 1905, 84.

85. *Recorder*, Sat., 29 April 1899, 4.

86. BCA 1904-05, 157-58.

87. Ibid., 157.

88. For example, Learmond gave no credit to the coaching role of West Indian professionals. 'Chats on the Cricket Field,' *Cricket*, 25 March 1909, 33-4.

89. P. F. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes* (London: Heinemann), 19; *Idem, My Cricketing Life* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1921]), 74-5.

90. Ibid., 3.

91. Warner, *My Cricketing Life*, 4-5.

92. 'The Team for Trinidad', *Bulletin*, 22 Dec. 1899.

93. 'Cricket,' *Bulletin*, 2 Sept. 1899, 16.

94. Rule 7 (1) '(Amended 19 July 1903) ,' BCA 1905-06, 18.

95. Standard, 12 Oct. 1912, 10.

96. See, Wickham, 'Herman.'

97. For an overview of the Club's history see, *Empire 75th Anniversary Club Book* ([Barbados: Empire Club, 1989])

98. Wickham, 'Herman,' 13; *Empire 75th Anniversary Club Book*, 19.

99. *Empire 75th Anniversary Club Book*, 20.

100. Richard Cashman, *Patrons, Players and the Crowd: The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket* (New Delhi, 1980).

101. 'The Norham Bequest.' Letter to the Editor by T. Law Gaskin. *Agricultural Reporter*, 21 Jan, 1896.

102. Sandiford, 'Cricket and the Barbadian Society,' 359.

103. Chester, *Transatlantic Sketches*, 80.

104. BCP 14 Nov. 1901.

105. See correspondence between Governor Hodgson and Bishop Swaby laid before the House of Assembly, in MCA 1902-03, doc. 213, pp. 5-9.

106. *Supplement to the Agricultural Reporter*, Sat., 28 March 1903.

107. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes*, 68-9.

108. For a good discussion of attitudes in England to women's cricket, see, Kathleen E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women*, 141-49.

109. For the role of the Lawrences in the development of physical education for girls in England, see, Kathleen E. McCrone, 'Play up! Play up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public Schools,' in J. A. Mangan and Roberta J. Park, eds., *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism*, 112-14; Sheila Fletcher, 'The Making and Breaking of a Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England 1880-1980,' in Mangan and Park, (eds.), *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism*, 6-7.

110. PP 1898 (c. 8943) XXIV, Penelope Lawrence, 'Games and Athletics in Secondary Schools for Girls,' in *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* II, p. 155.

111. Ibid.

112. Holt, *Sport and the British*, 128-9.

113. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 14 Oct. 1899, 5.

114. *Queen's College Historical Diary, 1883-1983*, ([Bridgetown:] Queen's College, 1982), 2.

115. 'Our Illustrations,' *West India Committee Circular*, 35: 309 Tues., 2 Aug. 1910, 363.

116. BCA 1903-04, 56.

117. F. S. Ashley Cooper, 'Cricket and the Royal Family,' in Pelham Warner, ed., *Imperial Cricket*, 33.

118. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 174-75.

119. Warner, *My Cricketing Life*, 1, 5.

120. Hilary McD Beckles, '"A Purely Natural Extension": Women's Cricket in West Indies Cricket Culture,' Unpublished Paper Presented at the Symposium: 'Engendering History: Current Directions in the Study of Women & Gender in Caribbean History' (Mona: UWI History Dept., Nov. 1993), 4-5.

121. 'Cricket at the Bay Pasture,' *Herald*, Thurs., 30 Nov. 1898.

122. Goodman, 'Cricket in Barbados,' BCA, 1903-04, 54.

123. BCA, 1903-04, 157; Karch, 'The Transformation and Consolidation of the Corporate Plantation Economy in Barbados,' 398.

124. BCA, 1905-06, 53.

125. BCA 1901-02, 46.

126. Like Cou Meme's grandmother in Brodber, 'Afro-Jamaican Women,' 39. See also Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 197.

127. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes*, 39.

128. Warner, *My Cricketing Life*, 12.

129. See, 'Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria,' *Historical Studies* 15: 60 (April 1973), 526-27.

130. Quoted in Warner, *Cricket Reminiscences* (London: 1920), 104.

131. The veracity of some 'last words' is questionable. It was not unusual to attribute lofty expressions to persons of rank and position on their death. 'Play the game' had also become a common metaphor.

132. Frances Kay Binkley, *The Military Tradition of Barbados as Exhibited in The Challenor Room* (Bridgetown: Barbados Museum & Historical society, 1982), 1- 4. See, (Sir) Henry Newbolt, *Collected Poems, 1897-1907* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1918), 131-33, 'Vitaï Lampada':

> The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel
> dead,
> And the regiment blind with dust
> and smoke.
> The river of death has brimmed his
> banks,
> And England's far, and Honour
> a name,
> But the voice of a schoolboy rallies
> the ranks:
> 'Play up! play up! and play the
> game!'

133. See generally, W. F. Mandle, 'Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 59:4 (Dec., 1973), especially pages 233-38.

134. *Cricket: A Weekly Record of the Game*, 11 April 1895, 50.

135. *Times*, Wed., 13 Feb. 1895.

136. Cited in Stoddart, 'Cricket and Colonialism,' 238.

137. *Times* Wed. 13 Feb. 1895.

138. *Herald*, Thurs 7 Feb. 1895.

139. 'Trinidad on the Cricket Field,' *Port of Spain Gazette*, Thurs., 4 Feb. 1897, 3.

140. Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*, 18; Beachey, *The British West Indies Sugar Industry*, 119, 122, 127.

141. 'List of Members of the West Indian Club Ltd.' (June 1899), 3-8.

142. West Indian Club, 'Reports for Year ending Dec. 31 1914, 39-40.

143. *The West Indian Club: Privileges of Membership*. London: n.d. unpaged pamphlet in Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 143.

144. Quoted in W. F. Mandle, 'W. G. Grace as a Victorian Hero,' *Historical Studies* 19:76 (April 1981),356.

145. 'Cricket Notes by Cover Point,' *Bulletin* 10 Oct. 1899, 11.

146. 'The West Indian Cricket Visit,' *Bulletin*, 23 Nov. 1899, 4.

147. 'Amateurism in Cricket,' *Agricultural Reporter* Sat., 19 April 1902, 3.

148. Ibid.

149. Lord Hawke, *Recollections and Reminiscences* (London: William and Norgate, 1924), 168-69.

150. Lord Hawke Circular, June 1899, reproduced in West Indian Club Report [1899], 24-5.

151. *Recorder,* Sat., 7 April 1900, 3.

152. See, West Indian Club, 'Report for the Year 1900,' 25, 28-9. Jamaica and Trinidad were the two islands which contributed to the central common fund. (p. 28). After the announced financial deficit of the tour, Grenada, British Guiana, Barbados and St. Vincent collected and submitted subscriptions. 'Report for 1901,' 28.

153. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes*, 4-9.

154. 'Sporting Gossip,' *Sunday Times* (London) 17 June 1900, 6.

155. 'The West Indies: An Appreciation,' *Cricket,*16 Aug. 1900, 346.

156. Ibid., 347.

157. *Field*, 18 Aug. 1900, reproduced in *The West Indian Cricket Team: Full Report of their First Tour in England, June-August, 1900* (London: West Indian Club, [1900]), 25.

158. 'The West Indies,' *Cricket*, 16 Aug. 1900, 346; Lord Hawke, in subsequent years wrote concerning Warner that 'It maybe that at times I do not agree with his judgment about other cricketers for I think he is carried away by his enthusiasm.' Hawke, *Recollections and Reminiscences*, 167.

159. 'Woods, the Black Bowler,' *Daily Mail*, 8 June 1900, 6.

160. 'The West Indians,' *Cricket*, 16 Aug. 1900, 347.

161. Ibid.

162. West Indian Club, 'Report for 1900,' 28.

163. Ibid.

164. Pelham Warner, *My Cricketing Life*, 112.

165. *West Indian Cricket Team*, 29-30.

166. *West Indian Cricket Team*, 44.

167. See speeches by Lord Harris, Mr. Nock, Sir Cuthbert Quilter, The Earl of Selborne, Sir William Robinson, The Earl of Stamford, A. N. Lubbock and Sir Neville Lubbock, *West Indian Cricket Team*, 28-48.

168. Ibid., 40.

169. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 8 Sept. 1906, 5.

170. *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 23 Jan. 1909, 8.

171. Stoddart, 'Cricket and Colonialism in the Caribbean,' 237.

172. 'Chats on the Cricket Field,' *Cricket*, 25 March 1909, 34.

173. Ibid.

174. C. P. Bowen, *English Cricketers in the West Indies* (Bridgetown: Herald, 1895), 2, 13.

175. Ibid., 14.

176. Ibid., 15.

177. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes,* 19; *Idem, My Cricketing Life*, 75; Hawke, *Reminiscences and Recollections*, 169.

178. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes*, 27, 38; *Idem, MyCricketing Life*, 75; Hawke, *Reminiscences and Recollections*, 169.

179. Ibid.

180. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes,* 52; *Idem, My Cricketing Life*, 76.

181. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes,*42.

182. Hawke, *Reminiscences and Recollections,*171; Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes,* 46; *Idem, My Cricketing Life*, 77.

183. Warner, *Cricket in Many Climes*, 66.

184. Richard D. E. Burton, 'Cricket, Carnival and Street Culture in the Caribbean,' *British Journal of Sport History* 2, (Sept. 1985).

185. A. F. Somerset, 'Cricket in the West Indies,' in P. F. Warner, (ed.), *Imperial Cricket* (London: The London & Counties Press Association, 1912), 450. For a similar characterisation of West Indian cricket crowd behaviour, see, Warner, *My Cricketing Life*, 74-7; Hawke, *Recollections and Reminiscences*, 169-71.

186. A. F. Somerset, 'Cricket in the West Indies,' 450; Warner, *My Cricketing Life*, 77; *idem, Cricket in Many Climes*, 42; E. C. Wynward, 'Lord Brackley's XI in the West Indies,' *The Sporting Life*, Sat., 8 April 1905, 7.

187. Bowen, *English Cricketers in the West Indies*, 3.

188. 'Chats on the Cricket Field,' *Cricket*, 25 March 1909, 34.

189. Somerset, 'Cricket in the West Indies,' 463.

190. Stoddart, ' Cricket and Colonialism,' 250-51.

191. Orlando Patterson, 'The Ritual of Cricket,' *Jamaica Journal* 3: 1 (March 1969), 23.

192. Ibid., 25.

193. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 192.

194. Patterson, 'Ritual of Cricket', 24.

195. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 72.

196. See, James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 48-9.

197. Ibid., 48.

198. P. A. Goodman to the Editor of *The Sporting Chronicle*, 12 Feb. 1909, in BCA 1908-09, 47.

199. BCA, 1896-97, 129-30.

200. 'The Cricket Imbroglio,' *Weekly Recorder*, Sat., 2 Oct. 1909, 4; 16 Oct. 1909, 5.

201. *Herald* Thurs., 12 Sept. 1895.

202. Ibid.

203. 'An Unpleasant Affair,' *Herald*, Thurs., 10 Oct. 1895.

204. See, E. C. Wynward, 'Lord Brackley's XI In the West Indies: Matches in St. Vincent and Trinidad. Umpiring Extraordinary,' *The Sporting Life*, 8 April, 1905, 7.

205. E. C. Wynward, 'Lord Brackley's XI on Tour: An Unpleasant Incident,' *Sporting Life*, Frid., 21 April 1905, 4.

206. *Times* (Kingstown: St. Vincent) Thurs., 13 April 1905; 'The Cricket Tournament,' *Port of Spain Gazette,* Frid., 7 April 1905, 7.

207. 'The Cricket Tournament,' *Port of Spain Gazette,* Frid., 7 April 1905, 7. Obviously the Queen's Park Cricket Club did not take the editor's advice to heart, for fifty-five years later, C. L . R. James had to reiterate this point in a letter to the club. See, *Beyond a Boundary*, 233-40, especially, 234.

208. A. F. Somerset, ' Cricket in the West Indies,' 463.

209. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 71.

210. Stoddart, 'Cricket, Social Formation and Cultural Continuity,' 323.

CONCLUSION: THE LIMITS OF HEGEMONY

This study has attempted to explore the relationship between culture and social integration in Barbados during a period when the island was caught in the throes of a prolonged economic depression and political reconstruction. It has been argued that the 1876 Confederation crisis illustrated the collapse in moral leadership of the local white ruling class. Moreover, the serious economic crisis in the sugar industry in the late nineteenth-century further exposed the vulnerability of the ruling planter class to changing international capitalism thus reinforcing the urgency to regain its hegemony over the society. Essentially, that reconstruction of hegemony centred upon the building of what Gramsci calls 'a historic bloc' of alliances not exclusively of a class character. Some of the 'traditional' planter families succumbed to the economic difficulties but there was not a fall of the planter class as such. Instead, there was an acceleration of the process of consolidation through economic and marital alliances with the merchant class. This move essentially gave birth to an agro-commercial bourgeoisie committed to the prevention of a viable black peasant sector which might challenge the plantation system, as well as to fending off the external corporations which had taken over the economies in many other West Indian colonies.

In order to retain economic control and thus social privilege, the ruling class had to make political economic and cultural concessions to embrace others outside the small planter-merchant elite. The extension of the franchise in 1884 did not provide the basis for changing the ruling class as the qualifications for candidacy of both the House of Assembly and the local vestries remained high. Nevertheless, a greater commitment to the political status quo was secured by the enfranchisement of the 'safe and respectable' lower middle classes. These manoeuvres were generally successful and there were no real serious political challenges to the white ruling class in this period. The control of state power by a ruling minority, in effect ensured that whatever legislation was passed was aimed at securing the planter-merchant economic interests but that no positive government-sponsored peasant policy would emerge.

Nevertheless, the white elite embarked on a policy of sponsored mobility directed towards the white proletariat, many of whom were the 'red-legs' of Scottish and Irish descent. This was a strategy whose objective was to keep the proletariat divided along

racial lines with no threat to 'white power'. Consequently, there were government-assisted emigration schemes for these poor whites coupled with an accelerated recruitment of their number into the commercial and plantation sectors. Indeed, by 1913 the programme was said to have been successful and that many former poor whites had become plantation owners.

The 1876 Confederation riots confirmed the view that some attention needed to be given to the black masses as well. The passage in 1880 of a new Poor Law Act, a Friendly Society Act and the subsequent establishment of branch savings banks were all intended to encourage thrift and regular work on the basis of existing labour relations. Government action was based on an ideology which viewed poverty in terms of the lifestyles of its victims. This notion was especially applied to blacks who were presented by white racists as inherently indolent but potentially excitable and socially explosive. It was expected that under the watchful eye of the clergy, working-class blacks would appreciate the civilizing value of thrift and industry. The obviously racist presupposition of this policy was misplaced for blacks had a long tradition of economic mutuality which was kept buoyant in conditions of economic marginality. Therefore the white paternalistic presumption that blacks required pecuniary discipline was rejected and formal mutual-aid institutions such as friendly societies, which although pioneered by the clergy were soon taken over by a leadership from among the common people. Working-class mutual-aid institutions came to provide experience in organization, mass mobilization and management of economic resources which the ruling class saw as a potential threat to their hegemony over the masses.

The new 'liberal' system of education reorganized under the 1878 Education Act was another major piece of social policy which was aimed at demonstrating the social and moral responsibility of the ruling class. Undergirding this policy was a continuing agenda for social control and ruling-class hegemony. Education was, as elsewhere in the British Caribbean, the key to the creation and expansion of a non-white middle class who was steeped in the essentially Anglo-centric and imperialistic orientation of that education. Through formal education the middle-classes embraced ideas of meritocratic achievement, positivistic and gradualist perspectives on social change, imperial grandeur and notions of British justice or fair play.

The policy of Education was not an unequivocal success for the black working class benefitted least of all from formal education. It is true that compared to other colonies in

the British West Indies, elementary school enrolment was relatively high in Barbados. However, regular attendance, and thus ideological inculcation was undermined principally by under-equipping, under-funding and staff demoralisation on one hand, and the pressing need of poor families to put their children to work on the other. Consequently, education was not effective in inculcating in the children of the working class, the habits of perpetual subservience which the planter-merchant class had envisaged. This failure of ruling-class hegemony at this level was evidenced by the refusal of many of the young to continue in plantation labour but equipped with only rudimentary skills they attempted an economic existence relatively independent of the estates. In addition, the legal authorities returned to more coercive measures such as the whipping of boys to curb the growing problem of juvenile delinquency. The limited impact of education on the working-classes was also an indictment on the failure of the Church which played a central role in shaping the curriculum and supervising the system.

There were other forms of culture with the potential to assist in the preservation of white ruling-class hegemony. Fraternalism and leisure were two such areas. Fraternalism had been a part of upper and middle class culture since the eighteenth century. However, the late nineteenth century witnessed the growth in these institutions, which served like other socio-cultural institutions to reflect and define social groupings. Nevertheless ritual practice and convention achieved a large measure of cross-class contact and fraternal camaraderie. Freemasonry, the premier secret brotherhood, had become accessible to some popular working-class leaders by the turn of the century. Fraternalism therefore provided a cultural mechanism for middle and upper-class men to share a common cultural bond and thus mediate potential social struggle. The insistence by British-based orders that non-whites should not be excluded from membership further reinforced the notion of British abstract justice and fair play. Fraternal organizations became bastions of political conservatism inccessantly espousing loyalty to the imperial and colonial polity.

By the 1880s the planter-merchant-controlled government was forced to respond to growing demands from the urban working and lower middle classes for both space and time for their own leisure pursuits. Some middle-class reformers enthused by similar movements in the Mother country envisaged that leisure should be put to 'rational' and 'improving' use by the masses. For the elite, leisure was more a means of accentuating social distinctions than securing consensus from the masses. Indeed, some contemporaries suggested that there was an apparent preference by the government for coercive measures

rather than any interest in the investment in playing fields, parks, or community centres.

It was the game of cricket, as a form of leisure which held a potent hegemonic potential. Cricket was introduced to the island by expatriate English men at the turn of the nineteenth century but had become perhaps the most popular cultural form by the second half of the nineteenth century. By the 1890s it had gained national status but vigorous attempts were made to ensure that the organization of the game would preserve social barriers. Hegemony did not preclude the recognition of social barriers, only that such barriers be accepted as legitimate. Notions of fair play, imperial unity and social harmony were espoused by cricket enthusiasts. The cricket field therefore became an arena within which social conflict was canalized but this cultural drama was not enough to keep the black majority as mere spectators in the same way as they were spectators to the exercise of political decisions in the country as a whole. The organization and playing of cricket contradicted its own codes of unity and fair play and dimmed its hegemonic potency. Instead, cricket rather slowly came to embody the national and social aspirations of the oppressed masses and was transformed into an arena of resistance and counter-hegemony.

If 'contradictory consciousness' characterises subordinates over whom hegemony was exercised then perhaps the black and coloured middle classes demonstrated this more than any other group. At one level they rejected racism and were sanguine about their own capacity for future leadership. However, they perceived their own status and progress not only in terms of socio-economic achievement but also in terms of their capacity to fully command English middle-class culture. Although some sections of the lower middle class such as elementary school teachers, exercised positions of influence and were generally trusted by the working masses, differences in cultural orientation continued to characterise the two groups. The hegemonic incorporation of the black masses through the agency of the middle class was therefore limited. Of course the black working classes shared a love for the empire as well, but this was perhaps more grounded in a traditional appreciation of the restraining hand of the Imperial Government over the colonial ruling class, and the persistent regard for Queen Victoria who in the folk memory had set the slaves free.

Racism by whites proved to be the weak link in the chain of hegemony an remained an obstacle to an unambiguous bond between the interest of the white ruling hegemonic bloc and the coloured and black middle classes. The latter were the 'intellectuals' providing trusted leadership in the elementary schools, lay leadership in the church and

guidance in the local communities. However, the white ruling class never fully trusted the mediation of the non-white middle class. This was no where better illustrated than in the cases where lower middle-class friendly society leaders were characterised as scamps and rascals. It was also a fact that teachers were also the target for pay cuts on top of the numerous reports of unfair treatment by the supervising clergy.

The Gramscian concept of hegemony has provided a useful framework within which to describe and partly explain the strategy of the ruling classes in achieving a measure of legitimacy and commitment to its rule by other classes. To argue that this hegemony was secured across the *entire* society is not borne out by the evidence. The ruling classes themselves were as infected by the ambiguous and 'contradictory consciousness' that Gramsci attributed to the subordinate classes. The evidence does not suggest a consistent or monolithic policy by the elite in exercising its dominance. The Gramscian notion that ruling classes in modern western capitalist societies seek to predominate through a consensual hegemony exercised through socio-cultural institutions of civil society *rather than* through the repressive organs of the State, may indeed be a false dichotomy in the case of Barbados. The ruling classes frequently alluded to the social symbiosis existing between their interests and that of the society as a whole but they were often swift in resorting to coercive means at the very semblance of a threat to the social order. It was perhaps not so much *consent* (contradictory or otherwise) which accounts for the persistence of planter-merchant rule in Barbados between 1880 and 1914. Implicit coercion was in evidence every where in Barbados. The monopolization of land and labour laws themselves were implicitly coercive in nature. Inequality, blatant racism and discrimination were inherently conflictual. The careful biding of time, subterranean resistance such as the burning of cane fields, and the occasional mobilization of potato raids need not be interpreted as a fractured working class consciousness. The oppressed may not have been fired by a Marxian revolutionary vision, but regarding white ruling-class domination the Afro-Creole proverbs may have been their ideological praxis: 'The longest day has an end,' and 'Night does run 'til day catch it.' Day caught up with night in the 1937 disturbances, but that is another story.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Population of Barbados by Complexion, 1871-1911

Years	White	%	Black	%	Mixed	%	Total
1871	16,232	10.0	105,836	65.5	39,526	24.5	161,594
1881	15,780	9.2	113,216	65.9	42,526	24.9	171,452
1891	15,613	8.6	122,717	67.3	43,976	24.1	182,306
1911	12,063	7.0	118,387	68.8	41,533	24.2	171,983

Source: Censuses of Barbados, 1871-1911.

Appendix 2. Major Destinations for Barbados Sugar Exports, 1882-1896

Year	United Kingdom		United States		Canada	Canada
	Value £	%	Value £	%	Value £	%
1882	504,387	60.7	140,730	16.9	179,813	21.6
1883	433,254	53.6	357,956	44.3	10,950	1.3
1884	474,135	49.7	338,151	35.4	133,608	14.0
1885	332,493	47.4	327,232	46.7	37,346	5.3
1886	186,004	39.7	270,634	57.8	7,494	1.6
1887	139,061	19.7	502,786	71.5	52,444	7.4
1888	172,917	23.0	527,283	70.1	47,484	6.3
1889	97,970	14.6	562,950	84.3	4,070	.6
1890	119,800	13.7	716,525	82.4	24,850	2.8
1891	66,915	13.1	426,880	83.8	12,240	2.4
1892	112,595	18.5	478,455	79.0	12,980	2.1
1893	122,882	14.4	702,799	82.5	19,976	2.3
1894	10,155	17.3	463,656	75.2	42,864	6.9
1895	61,677	21.8	214,177	75.9	5,273	1.8
1896	30,055	8.0	398,580	91.3	7,098	1.6

Source: PP 1898 (c.8657) L, WIRC, app. C, pt. 3, p. 201.

Appendix 3. Percentage Export Value of Sugar and By-products of The British W.I.

Colony	% for 1896	% for 1908-09
Antigua	94.5	88.6
Barbados	97.0	83.2
British Guiana *	94.5	86.0
Jamaica	18.0	12.6
Trinidad	57.0	24.7
St. Kitts-Nevis	96.5	79.0
St. Lucia	74.0	53.0
St. Vincent	42.0	6.9
Montserrat	62.0	1.0
Dominica	15.0	-
Grenada	-	-

* Gold is excluded in this calculation.

Source: PP 1910 (cd.5369) Royal Commission on Trade Relations, Canada and the W.I.

Appendix 4. Barbados Savings Bank Summary of Deposits, 1881-1914.

Year	No. of Depositors	Total Deposits (£)
1881 a	4,036	26,865
1886	7,290	43,938
1890	9,716	106,741
1895-96 b	11,653	81,181
1902-03 c	13,566	105,226
1908-09	18,696	216,277
1910-11	20,185	295,911
1912-13	20,572	253,012
1914-15	20,393	193,645

a, 1881-1890, data covers Jan-Dec.; b, 1891-1901, Oct.-Sept.; c, 1902-1915, April-March.

Source: *Barbados Blue Books.*

Appendix 5. Friendly Societies in Barbados, 1880-1914.

Year	Societies	Members	Dependents
1880	22	2,311	-
1884	29	1,738	-
1888	19	787	-
1890	106	-	-
1894	157	-	-
1898	154	-	-
1902	98	-	-
1906	144	29,681	64,013
1910	268	45,493	-
1912	280	46,668	126,157
1914	287	42,458	114,89

Source: Barbados Blue Books & Reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies.

Appendix 6. Dr. Joshua F. Clarke and Barbados Benevolent Societies

Name of Society	Parish	Year Registered	Clarke's Role
Fitts Village	St. James	1889	Founder-Mngr.
Victoria Excelsior	St. Michael	1897	Trustee
Arcade	St. Michael	1900	Trustee
Unique Benevolent	Bridgetown	1905	Founder-Trustee
Good Intent	Reid St. B'town	1906	Trustee
Go-A--Head	St. Michael	1907	Trustee?
El Dorado	St. Michael	1908	Founder-Mngr.
Singer	St. James	1907	Trustee?
St. Barnabas Diamond	St. Michael	1911 ?	Treasurer
Corinthian Lodge	Bridgetown	1907	Co-Founder
Thistle 1014 SC (Masonic)	Bridgetown	1906	Member

Source: Friendly Society Rules and Registers of the Barbados Savings Bank in BDA.

Appendix 7. Enrolment and Average Attendance in Elementary Schools, 1896-1914

Year	Total Roll	Average Attendance			Percentages of enrolment		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1896	27,589	7,986	7,066	15,052	29.0	25.6	54.6
1897	25,302	7,232	6,524	13,756	28.6	25.8	54.4
1898	27,776	7,625	7,109	14,734	27.5	25.6	53.0
1899	25,334	7,927	7,051	14,978	31.3	27.8	59.1
1900	24,145	7,329	6,466	13,795	30.4	26.8	57.1
1901	23,660	7,202	6,345	13,547	30.4	26.8	57.3
1902	23,184	7,034	6,265	13,299	30.3	27.0	57.1
1903	24,868	8,001	6,986	14,987	32.2	28.1	60.3
1904	25,710	8,270	7,081	15,351	32.2	27.5	59.7
1905	24,880	7,570	6,548	14,118	30.4	26.3	56.7
1906	25,178	7,706	6,644	14,350	30.6	26.4	57.0
1907	25,939	8,051	7,235	15,286	31.0	27.9	58.9
1908	26,557	8,295	7,637	15,932	31.2	28.8	60.0
1909	26,963	8,317	7,629	15,940	30.8	28.3	59.1
1910	27,658	8,800	8,029	16,829	31.8	29.0	60.8
1911	28,050	8,517	7,797	16,314	30.4	27.8	58.2
1912	26,276	7,923	7,201	15,124	30.2	27.4	57.6
1913	25,690	8,200	7,122	15,290	31.9	27.7	59.5
1914	25,162	7,618	6,791	14,409	30.3	27.0	57.3

Source: Blue Books, 1896-1914.

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